N 4. 8.

A TREATISE CONCERNING ANTICHRIST.

CONTEYNING

An Answere to the Protestant proofes: by which *M. George Downam* Doctour of Diuinity &c. with no lesse folly then malice, would make men beleue

That the Pope is Antichrist.

By Michael Christoferson Priest.

THE SECOND PART.

Iacobi 3. v. 14.

Nolite gloriari, & mendaces esse aduersus veritatem.

Do not yee bragge, and become lyars against the Truth.

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TO THE PRINCE HIS HIGHNESSE.

MOST PVISSANT PRINCE,

HAVING directed the former part of this my Treatiſe to the King your Fathers Moſt Excellent Maieſty, I eſteemed the later, in all reſpects, due vnto Prince *Henry* your brother, being the aliue: but ſince that time it hath pleaſed God to call him out of this world, and to giue vs your Highneſſe in his place. Wherfore now I could not auoyd much blame, if I

should not conforme my ſelfe to Gods prouidence, and offer this my ſmall labour to your Highneſſe; eſpecially the ſubiect being ſuch, as I hope may proue both pleaſant, and profitable. Pleaſant by reaſon of the diuers matters, and choice hiſtoryes, which are related and examined therin; and profitable by yielding you ſatisfaction in many doubts, which are moued commonly in the Proteſtant pulpits, in which the Miniſters haue their chiefe aduantage againſt vs Catholiks, ſpeaking their pleaſure without controulment.

And certaynly he muſt needs be a very poore Oratour, that preuayleth not againſt his Aduerſary being put to ſilence. Our only confidence muſt be in God, and in the care which your Highneſſe, and others will haue of your ſaluation. For by this ſollicitude we hope you wilbe moued, to ſearch further into matters, and to procure priuate Conference, ſince publike may not be obteyned, and to read that in books, which you cannot heare in Sermons.

In

In this which I now preſent to your Highneſſe, you may find, in a manner, all that can be ſayd gainſt vs. For vnder the pretence of proouing the Pope Antichriſt, *M. Downam* hath heaped vp togeather all the cauills, calumniations, and ſlaunders, which he could find obiected either againſt the Pope himſelfe, or the Catholike religion. I doubt not, if your Highneſſe can get the leaſure, and will beſtow the labour to peruſe this my Anſwere, but that you will greatly admire the impudency of your Preachers, in preſuming ſo audaciouſly, and intemperately to raile againſt the Pope in your Princely preſence.

In which reſpect the matter being of ſo great conſequence, and importance, I haue prefixed by way of Preface a briefe narration of the Popes, by which, and by the inſuing Treatiſe, your Highneſſe will eaſely obſerue, that the beſt Chriſtian Princes of all Ages, and Nations are by theſe men made the vpholders, and mayntayners of Antichriſt. And whereas the Prophets foretold that Chriſtian Princes should be the Aduancers and Protectors

of Christian Religion, it hath in their conceipt fallen out quite contrary. Neyther indeed can they shew, how any of the predictions of the Churches increase, and the Conuersion of all Nations haue byn fullfilled: for whatsoeuer can be alledged to this effect, must, according to their doctrine, be applyed to Antichrists Kingdome

Now what can be imagined, or deuised more to the dishonour of Christ and Christianity? More blasphemous against God and his truth? Is not *Mahomet* and the Turke in these mens iudgment to be iustified, or at least excused, since that they haue only laboured to suppresse the enemyes of Christ? What commendations haue Christian Princes deserued, by impugning them, since that, if these men say true, they in the meane space, promoted a farre more pernicious enemy? Is it any meruayle though *M. Brightman* exhorteth all Protestant Princes, and People so earnestly, not to attempt any thing against the Turke, before they haue vtterly destroyed, and ouerthrowne the Pope? *In Apoc.*

Moreo-

Moreouer it will appeare by perusing this Treatise, that the Protestants oppose themselues, not only against all the Popes, Princes and Prelats from the beginning of the Church: but also against all other holy men, who are now Saints in heauen, and who while they liued vpon earth, held all the doctrines which are now so eagerly impugned, being most vnited and obedient to the Popes of their times. The reason of which proceeding can be no other, but eyther willfull ignorance, or most insolent malice. For it is impossible, that any, who will search into these matters with any indifferency, should not presently discouer as much, as I haue sayd; and they, who wittingly and willingly go against all holy men, and lawfull authority both spirituall and temporall, which hath bin in Gods Church from the beginning, cannot haue any reasonable excuse.

These later are those who deceyue the former, which deceyt I desire to take away in this Treatise. For their ignorance will not wholy excuse them: especially when by reason therof they fall into open blasphe-

my

my againſt Gods Church both militant and triumphant; which cannot chooſe but redound to the contumely of God himſelf. And this is the generall danger of thoſe, who vſe not to looke diligently into matters themſelues, but are carryed away with the torrent of the time, being content to belieue that, which is propoſed vnto them by their owne Miniſters.

For this cauſe we ſee by experience, the more vnlearned ſort of people, and particulerly women, chiefly infected with theſe erroneous perſwaſions. For hearing nothing els proclaymed in pulpits, and hauing no meanes afterward to examine the truth, no meruayle though thoſe firſt impreſſions be of great force in their ſoules. Your Highneſſe himſelf is not priuiledged in this behalfe. And therfore though by reaſon of your tender yeares, it may ſeeme very ſoone to preſent you with a Booke of Controuerſies: yet no man can deny but that a preſeruatiue is needfull, when there is danger of poyſon.

Vouchſafe therefore (moſt Puiſſant PRINCE) to accept of this my labour,

no

no leſſe willingly, then you would admit a certaine remedy for any corporall diſeaſe. Your owne experience, and the late lamentable ſpectacle of your elder Brother, do plainely demonſtrate that Princes are not exempt from the ſickeneſſe, and death of the Body. And the ſame is no leſſe certayne of the ſpirituall infirmityes and Eternall damnation of the Soule. Wherfore no doubt you will eaſely ſee, that there is a great, yea farre greater care to be had of the later, then of the former; vnleſſe we should be ſo foolish, as to conceyue, that your Highneſſe would preferre the mortall before the immortall, Time before Eternity, this life before the other, Earth before Heauen, and the World before God; for all this would follow, if you should eſteeme leſſe of your Soule, then of your Body. But God forbid we should iudge ſo vnworthily of ſo Noble a Prince.

Wherfore we may well hope for all happy ſucceſſe, and that your Highneſſe will both ſee the Fruth, and imbrace it, notwithſtanding any difficul-

tyes whatsoeuer. For which my poore prayers, and other endeauours shall neuer be wanting. But I will alway both wish and procure, according to my small ability, all temporall and eternall happinesse vnto your Highnesse.

AND so I humbly take my leaue, and euer rest.

Your Highnesse faithfull Seruant,
and humble Oratour.

Michael Christoferson P.

THE

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

CONTAYNING

A brieſe Relation of all the Popes from the beginning.

THOVGH I had diuers other pointes, which I deſired to haue propoſed vnto thee (diſcreet and indifferent Reader) eſpecially concerning *M. Downams* falſe dealing in omitting the Cardinalls anſwere to the obiections of former Proteſtants, in which his proofes are alſo diſſolued, ſo farre as he agreeth with his forefathers *Luther*, and the reſt; yet I haue rather choſen to ſet downe a brieſe relation of the Popes, eſpecially ſince the yeare 600. when in this mans conceit they began to be Antichriſts; that hauing ſeene the true hiſtory of their proceedings, thou mightſt be the better able to iudge, and make thy cõmodity of this enſuing Treatiſe. Wherfore hoping

that thou wilt obſerue by thy ſelfe, how he is inforced to wreſt the Scriptures, corrupt the Fathers, falſify other authors, and finally forſake his owne brethren, to eſtabliſh theſe his new deuiſes; I will omit all further declaration of theſe things, contenting my ſelfe with that, which I haue vpon diuers occaſions briefly ſet downe in the treatiſe following. And therefore I will hold thee no longer (gentle Reader) in that kind, but come forthwith to the intended narration, the ſame inforcing me to be ſomewhat longer then otherwiſe I ſhould thinke needfull for a Preface.

And as for the firſt 200. yeares it were ſufficient to ſay, that in a manner all the Popes vntill the tyme of *Conſtantin* the Great, were glorious Martyrs of Chriſt: wherfore I need not relate any of their vertues, but yet I will note in a word how *Clement* the firſt conuerted many barbarous people in the tyme of his baniſhment; *Alexander* the firſt preuailed no leſſe with the nobility of *Rome*: and in theſe, & all the other Popes of this ſecond age the vertue of magnificence and liberality toward the poorer ſort of Chriſtians in all nations, is highly commended.

Anno Domini 200.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 23.

At this tyme likewiſe our King *Lucius* hearing that diuers Senators of *Rome* were become Chriſtians, and that the Emperour himſelfe did fauour them, ſent to Pope *Eleutherius* for preachers, and receiued from him thoſe two worthy men, *Fugatius* and *Damianus*. Pope *Victor* exerciſed his authority, and iuriſdiction ouer all the Churches in *Aſia*, compelling them vnder payne of excommunication to conforme themſelues to him, and the reſt of the world in the obſeruation of Eaſter, in which reſpect his authority was neuer called in queſtion, howſoeuer ſome might cenſure

Bed. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 4

Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 24. 25.

ſure him of too much ſeuerity.

Not long after Pope *Zephyrinus* pronounced the ſentence againſt *Tertullian* (who maketh mention of it) and his adherents: *Pontifex Maximus Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum dicit: ego &c. The chiefeſt Biſhop, the Biſhop of Biſhops, ſaith: I forgiue the ſinnes of adultery, and fornication to thoſe, who haue done pennance. S. Fabianus* was elected by reaſon of a Doue which came, and ſate vpon his head, at the tyme appointed for the election of a new Pope, by whoſe approbation chiefly *Origen* procured to cleare himſelfe from the imputation of errors, and hereſy, wherewith he was charged: and the like did certayne Schiſmaticks ſeeke to obtayne of *S. Cornelius*, as *S. Cyprian* recordeth.

Anno 200. *Tertull. de pudic. c. 1. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 22. Ibid. cap. 29. S. Cypr. Epiſt. 55. Martyrolog. Adon. 24. Septem.*

I omit the myracle which this holy Pope wrought in priſon, by which many were conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, and dyed Martyrs. But what ſhall we ſay of the controuerſy betwixt *S. Cyprian* and Pope *Steuen*, who adhering to traditions, and pronouncing, *Nihil nouandum, niſi quod traditum eſt: nothing is to be innouated, but the* (Churches) *tradition is to be obſerued*, preuailed againſt all the eloquence, and learning of the other glorious Martyr, and his adherents? How much might be ſaid in commendation of Pope *Sixtus*, and his Deacon *S. Laurence*, if I would enlarge my ſelfe? But this hiſtory is not vnknowne to any, as perhaps that other is, how *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was accuſed to the Pope, who liued at that tyme, of the ſame name, by whom alſo his cauſe was examined, he clearing himſelfe. I will end this century with Pope *Caius*, to whom we read that adoration by kiſſing his feet to haue byn performed, which Proteſtants inueigh ſo bitterly againſt.

See Vincent. Lyrinenſ. cont. hæreſ. cap. 9. See S. Ambroſ. lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. See S. Athanaſ. de Synod. & de ſentent. Dionyſ. See Baron. anno Domini. 294.

Anno 300. Optat. cõt. Parmen. lib. 1.

And thus much briefly shall suffice for the Popes before *Constantins* tyme, who not long after his comming to the Empire, declared his deuotion, and inclination to the Christian faith, not only by many other signes, but also by appointing a publike Pallace for *Melchiades* then Pope to inhabit, which liberality he continued and increased afterward in the tyme of *S. Siluester*, and his successors. But after his decease his sonne *Constantius* falling into the *Arian* heresy, raised a cruell persecution, especially against *S. Athanasius*, whom Pope *Iulius*, and the other of those tymes chiefly assisted. And though *Liberius* were somthing shaken, yet such was Gods prouidence, that in that very tyme he gaue *Felix*, who liued in *Rome*, such constancy, that he spared not the Emperour himselfe. After whose glorious Martyrdome, Pope *Liberius* came to himselfe againe, and remayned vnmoueable when the whole world was troubled by the fraud of the *Arians*, in the tyme of the Councell held at *Ariminum*.

S. Damas. apud Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 13.

S. Damasus succeeded *Liberius*, and was highly esteemed for his excellent vertue by the whole Christian world, and especially by *S. Hierome*. The good Emperour *Gratian* being desirous to restore the lawfull Bishops to their seas, knew not better to expresse his mynd, then by cõmaunding, *Sanctas Ecclesias tradi ijs, qui Damasi communionem amplexarentur*, that the holy Churches should be deliuered to those, who imbraced the communion of Pope *Damasus*. Who also did many notable myracles both in his life, and after his death. Not long after succeeded Pope *Anastasius*, whom *S. Hierome* calleth a man *ditissimæ paupertatis, & Apostolicæ sollicitudinis*, and sheweth how he suppressed the

Theodor. lib. 5. c. 2. See Baron. anno 384. S. Hierom. ep. 8. ad Demetriadem, & apol. in Ruffin.

heresies

hereſies of his tyme, among others condemning *Ruffinus* alſo, as the ſame *S. Hierome* teſtifieth.

The next Pope *Innocentius* was the refuge of *S. Iohn Chryſoſtome*, who appealed to him from the vniuſt iudgment of *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And the Pope ſpared not to pronounce ſentence of excommunication againſt the Emperour *Arcadius*, and his wife *Eudoxia*, writing vnto him in theſe words. *The voice of my brother Iohns bloud cryeth to God againſt thee, O Emperour &c.* telling him that the new *Dalila Eudoxia* had by litle and litle cut of his hayre with the raſor of errour and ſeduction, and for this cauſe he excommunicateth them both in this manner: *Itaq; ego minimus & peccator, cui thronus magni Apoſtoli Petri creditus eſt, ſegrego & reijcio te, & illam à perceptione immaculatorum Myſteriorum Chriſti Dei noſtri. Wherfore I the leaſt, and a ſinner, to whom the throne of the great Apoſtle* S. Peter *is committed, do ſeparate, and reiect thee, and her from receiuing the immaculate myſteryes of Chriſt our God.* *An. 400. Theodor. apud Pallad. dial.* *Glicas annal. part. 4*

After *Innocentius* came Pope *Zoſimus* who condemned *Pelagius*, as *S. Auguſtine* and *Proſper* teſtify, accounting his ſentence free from all error and deceit. And *S. Auguſtine* himſelfe was ſent by this Pope as his legat to *Mauritania* a Citty in *Cæſarea*, againſt the *Donatiſts*, and other turbulent people. Pope *Celeſtin* was no leſſe reſpected by *S. Auguſtine* who wrote vnto him moſt earneſtly, not to reſtore one *Antony* to his Biſhoprick. *Obſecro te* (ſaith he) *per Chriſti ſanguinem, per Apoſtoli Petri memoriam &c.* adding further that if the Pope would not yield to his requeſt, he purpoſed, *ab officio gerendi Epiſcopatum abſcedere*, to giue ouer his owne Biſhoprike. This Pope alſo ſent *S.* *S. Aug. de Pecc. orig. cap. 8. Proſper. con. Collat.* *S. Aug. epiſt. 157. & Poſſid. in eius vita* *S. Aug. epiſt. 261.*

Palladius

Palladius and *S. German* into our Iland, who deliuered the *Britayns* from the *Pelagian* hereſy, and conuerted the *Scottiſh* nation to the faith. To him though abſent was the condemnation of the *Neſtorian* hereſy aſcribed by *Proſper* and others becauſe *S. Cyril* ſate as his Legat in the Councell. *Ireland* alſo receyued their Apoſtle *S. Patrick* by the authority of this Pope.

Bed. lib. 1. cap 17.

Proſper cont. Collat

By all which notable acts, the error of *Laurentius valla* is exploded, who miſtaking *Cæleſtinus* for *Cæleſtius* companion to *Pelagius*, wrote that this Pope was infected with the *Neſtorian* hereſy. But how conſtant this Pope was in the defenſe of the truth, may alſo be ſeene in *Vincentius Lyrinenſis*, who alleadgeth him and his ſucceſſor *Sixtus* for the confutation of all hereſyes. Which authour deſeruedly commendeth thoſe words of Pope *Sixtus*, as altogeather Apoſtolicall: *Nihil vtra luceat nouitati: quia nihil addi conuenit vetuſtati: perſpicua maiorum fides & credulitas, nulla cœni permixtione turbetur. Let not nouelty preuaile any further, becauſe it is not conuenient, that any thing be added to antiquity. Let not the perſpicuous faith, and beliefe of our anceſtors be troubled with the permixtion of any mud.* This Pope *Sixtus* likewiſe by reuelation appointeth S. *Peter Chryſologus* for Biſhop of *Rauenna*, contrary to the deſire, cuſtome, and expectation of that Clergy.

Laur. Valla. de falſa donat. Conſtant.

Vincent. Lyr. aduer. hæreſ. cap. vlt.

See Baron. An. 433.

Sophron. prat. ſpirit. c. 147. 148.

How many notable things might be related of S. *Leo*, ſo famous for ſanctity and learning? How highly was his Epiſtle againſt *Eutiches*, and *Neſtorius* eſteemed by the whole world, being commended and confirmed by myracles from heauen? How admirable was his encounter with *Attila*, before whom all *Italy* trembled no leſſe then he himſelfe did before S. *Leo*, aſſiſted by his glorious Patron, and predeceſſor S. *Peter*

Paul. diac. Miſcel. lib. 15. & Caſſiodor. in Chron.

S. *Peter*; of whom it is also related by S. *Gregory* the great, that for the confirmation of certayne *Grecians* who doubted of the verity, and efficacy of a piece of lynnen cloth which had byn layd ouer the bodyes of Saynts, he clipped the same with a payre of cisers, and presently there issued bloud. *S. Gregor. lib. 3. Epist. 30.* *Gelasius. Epist. 11.*

I cannot stand to relate his other heroicall attempts, especially that admirable wisedome, and fortitude, wherewith he resisted, and suppressed the insolency, and ambition of the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarks, in which his holy successors *Simplicius*, and *Felix* imitated his vertue preuailing against the Emperours power which they imployed in the defence of this vniust pretence. The sanctity also of Pope *Felix* appeareth by that which S. *Gregory* writeth of his inuiting S. *Tarsilla* aunt to S. *Gregory*, and Grandchild to himselfe, with those comfortable words: *Veni, quia in hac te lucis mansione suscipio. Come, for I am ready to receiue thee into this mansion of light*, wherein himselfe was. But let vs go forward with the other Popes, where I cannot well omit to recite a parcell of an Epistle, sent by Pope *Gelasius* who succeded S. *Felix* to *Anastasius* then Emperour. In which hauing first excused his silence, by the indignation, which the Emperour had shewed against him, commaunding his Embassadours in no case to see him, he now taketh occasion by the Emperours asking for him, to write vnto him, and instruct him of such things, as it was necessary for him, and all other Princes and people to know. *S. Greg. hom. in Euang. 38. & lib. 4. dial. cap. 16.* *Gelas. epist. 10. & habetur in capitul. franc. lib. 5. cap. 167.*

Duo sunt, Imperator Auguste (saith he) *There be two things* (*mighty Emperour*) *by which principally this world is gouerned, the sacred authority of Bishops, and*

* * *

kingly

kingly power: in which the burthen of Priests is so much the heauier, for that they are to yeald account in the diuine iudgment for Kings themselues. For you know (most Clement Sonne) that though you excell other men in dignity, yet you deuoutly submit your selfe to those, who haue charge of diuine matters, seeking for the meanes of your saluation at their hands: and you know, that you ought rather to be subiect, then superior by the order of religion, in receyuing the heauenly Sacraments, and disposing them, as is conuenient; you know I say, that in these things, you depend vpon their iudgment, and that they will not be brought to your will, and commaund: for if in that which belongeth to the order of disciplyne, the Bishops, and Priests themselues obey your lawes, knowing that the Empyre is giuen you by soueraigne disposition, least they might seeme euen in wordly affayres to go against the declared sentence; with what affect I pray you becommeth it you to obey those who are appointed for the administration of the venerable mysteries?

And if it be conuenient, that the harts of the faithfull should be submitted to all Priests in generall, who duely menage diuine things, how much more is the Prelate of that Sea to be consented vnto, whom both the diuine Maiesty would haue to be aboue all Priests, and the subsequent piety of the generall Church hath continually renowned? Where your piety euidently seeth, that none can euer with any human policy whatsoeuer, extoll themselues before his priui-
Matth. 16. ledge, and confession, whom the voice of Christ preferred before all, and whom the venerable Church hath alway confessed, & deuoutly acknowledgeth for her Primate. Things established by Gods decree may well be impugned by mens presumption, but they cannot be vanquished by any human power. And I would this bouldnes were no more pernicious to those who repugne and striue in this manner, then that which

which is prefixed by the author himselfe of our sacred religion, can be ouerthrowne by any force. For the firmament and foundation of God standeth vnmoueable.

Thus farre this good Pope to the wicked Emperour, who was too much addicted to schisme, and heresy, to giue eare and yeald to so wholsome doctrine, and persuasions, in so much, that not long after Pope *Symmachus* was inforced to pronounce sentence of Excommunication against him.

Thus was the Church afflicted in those dayes by this hereticall Emperour in the East, and by *Theodoricus* the *Arian* King in the West. But God vouchsafed at the same tyme to raise vp *Clodoueus* the first Christian King of *France*, whose deuotion, and submission to the Sea Apostolike was so great, that he sent to Pope *Hormisda* (who was the next successor to *Symchachus*) a golden crowne beset with pearles (commonly called *Regnum*) by the counsell and consent of S. *Remigius*. *Anno 500*

Hincmar. in vita S. Remig. See Baron. anno 517. & 519.

The same Pope *Hormisda* prescribed a profession of faith to the Catholikes of the East, in which they acknowledged all those to be seperated from the Catholike Church, who consented not with the Apostolike Sea.

But not long after in the same Popes tyme, *Anastasius* being stroken with a thunder-bolt from heauen, *Iustinus* succeded in the Empyre, who forthwith wrote to the Pope for the decisiō of such doubts, as were proposed in matters of religion, and not long after receiued Pope *Iohn* with all humility, prostrating himselfe vpon the ground, and adoring him, as *Anastasius* testifieth. But the Arian King *Theodoricus* intertayned this holy Pope in a different manner at

Anastasius in Ioanne.

his returne, casting him into a noysome prison, where he dyed a glorious Martyr. After which the Tyrant himselfe lyued not long, for hauing vsed the like cruelty with those two worthy Senators *Symmachus*, and *Boetius*, and violently vsurped the election, and appointing of the next Pope, he was strangly terrified with an apparition of *Symmachus*, whereupon he fell into such a fright, that it brought him to his miserable end, as appeared by the vision of an Hermit, which S. *Gregory* relateth, who did see him the very same day he dyed caried betwixt Pope *Iohn*, and *Symmachus* vngirded, barefoote, & with his hands bound, and so cast into the flames of Vulcan, a gulfe so called in *Liparis*, nigh to *Sicily*.

Procop. de bello. Goth. lib. 1.

S. Greg lib. 4. dialog. cap. 30.

And though the successors of this impious King contynued their tyranny, and oppression of the Sea Apostolike, yet God so prouided, that the Popes by them appoynted were holy men, and the Emperour *Iustinian* who succeded *Iustinus* fauoured them greatly, bearnig reuerence to the *Roman* Sea, subiecting all vnto it, and bringing all to the vnity therof, testifying that it is the head of all Churches, as the rules of the Fathers, and the decrees of Princes declare. In which respect the same Emperour referred all causes belonging to matters of faith to the iudgment of the same Apostolike Sea, as he himself testifyeth, writing to the next Pope *Agapetus*. And yet the persuasions of the Empresse *Theodora* preuailed so farre with her Husband, that he fauoured *Anthimus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* against this holy Pope (for so the myracles which S. *Gregory* relateth of him testify) in so much that *Agapetus* spared not to call him another *Diocletian*: but hauing conuinced *Anthimus* of heresy, the Empe-

Epist. Ioan. 2. quæ habetur l. 8. c. de sum. Trin. & fide Cathol. Epist. Iustinian ad Agapet. ext at inter epist. Agap. See Baron. anno 536.

S. Greg. lib. 3 dialog cap. 3.

Emperour yielded to his depoſition, as the Pope had decreed.

After *Agapetus* ſucceded *Silverius* at the firſt intruded by *Theodotus* King of the *Gothes*, but preſently lawfully elected and confirmed by the Clergy. This Pope was perſecuted by the Empreſſe *Theodora*, and dyed a Martyr, his ſanctity being alſo declared by myracles. *Vigilius* in the meane tyme vſurping that dignity by the fauour, and authority of the Empreſſe, but hearing of the Martyrdome, and myracles of *Silverius* he depoſed himſelfe, and was not without Gods particuler prouidence elected againe by the Clergy. After which he was a moſt conſtant defender of the Orthodoxall, and Catholike Faith, chuſing rather to dye, then to recall *Anthimus*, and naming *Iuſtinianus* and *Theodora*, *Diocletian* and *Eleutheria*, for vrging him therunto; yea excommunicating the Empreſſe who indeed was in fault, togeather with the hereſiks, whom ſhe fauoured being ſeduced by them. He had likewiſe many other controuerſyes with the Emperour, and diuers Biſhops, all which he ouercame with the vigour of his accuſtomed conſtancy, from which tyme forward the Church enioyed an happy peace vntill the tyme of the Emperour *Mauritius*, when the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* began to ſtirre againe, renewing and augmenting their former ambition, and pride. But their inſolency was ſuppreſſed firſt by Pope *Pelagius* predeceſſor to S. *Gregory* the Great, and afterward by S. *Gregory* himſelfe, and his ſucceſſors.

See Baron anno 540

Anaſtaſ. in Vigilio S. Greg. lib. 2. epiſt. 36.

For firſt Pope *Pelagius* abrogated, and irritated all that *Iohn* of *Conſtantinople* had decreed in a Conuenticle held to that purpoſe, declaring the many priuiledges, and the great authority of the Church of

See Baron. anno 587.

Rome ouer all Churches, one and not the leaſt being to conuocate generall Councells, as the Pope declareth in theſe words. *Relatum eſt ad Apoſtolicam Sedem Ioannem Conſtantinopolitanum Epiſcopum Vniuerſalem ſe ſubſcribere, voſq; ex hac ſua præſumptione ad Synodum conuocare generalem, cùm generalium Synodorum conuocandi authoritas Apoſtolicæ Sedi Beati Petri ſingulari priuilegio ſit tradita, & nulla vnquam Synodus rata legatur, quæ Apoſtolica authoritate non fuerit fulta. It hath byn related to the Apoſtolike Sea, that Iohn of Conſtantinople ſubſcribeth himſelfe vniuerſall Biſhop, and with this his preſumption conuocateth you to a generall Councell, wheras the authority of calling generall Coũcells hath byn deliuered by ſingular priuiledge to the Apoſtolicall Sea of S. Peter, and no Councell is euer read to haue beene of validity, which was not eſtabliſhed with Apoſtolicall authority.* Thus writeth Pope *Pelagius* to all the Biſhops, which vpon this vnlawfull calling were met togeather. And S. *Gregory* eſteemed this Epiſtle ſo highly, that he publiſhed it againe by ſending a copy therof to *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Pelag. epiſt. 1.

But there would be no end, if I ſhould relate how much S. *Gregory* laboured in this cauſe: wherfore I thinke it better to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, as alſo the reſt of his heroyicall acts, and excellent vertues; how much he procured, and how happely he effected the conuerſion of our *Engliſh* nation, whoſe Apoſtle he is therefore moſt deſeruedly named; and I will only note that which is not ſo commonly knowne, that he laboured alſo for the reduction of *Ireland* from ſchiſme, as likewiſe for the conuerſion of other Infidels.

S. Gregor lib. 4 epiſt. 38.

S. Greg. lib. 2. epiſt. 36. & lib 3. epiſt. 27.

By this which hath byn ſayd, it appeareth how fondly

fondly many Proteſtants aſſigne *Bonifacius* the third for the firſt Antichriſtian Pope, becauſe he to beate downe the intollerable pride of the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, which was chiefly ſupported by the Emperours, obtayned of *Phocas* a declaration againſt them in the behalfe of the Roman Church, and the Apoſtolicall Sea of S. *Peter*, that it is the Head, and firſt, or chiefeſt of all Churches. And their folly is no leſſe in calumniating that pious deuotion of *Bonifacius* the 4. who obteyned of the ſame Emperour the temple *Pantheon* in *Rome*, to the end he might free it from Idolatry, and turne it to the honour of God, and his Saynts. They might aſwell find fault with him for erecting a monaſtery in his owne houſe, as S. *Gregory* had done before him. What will they ſay to Pope *Deusdedit* who viſiting the ſicke, and kiſſing a leper, myraculouſly deliuered him from that diſeaſe?

An. 600. Anaſtaſ. in Bonifacio 3. Paulus Diac. de geſtis Longobar. lib. 4. cap. 11. Anaſtaſ. in Bonifacio. 4. Martylog. Rom. die 8. nouemb.

Can they imagine ſuch humility, and charity in Antichriſt? and that confirmed by ſo manifeſt a myracle? will Antichriſt be ſo carefull of the propagation of Chriſtian Religion, as Pope *Bonifacius* the was, as appeareth by his letters to the King, and Queene of *Northumberland*, recorded by venerable *Bede*? will he be moſt mild, and mercifull, as *Anaſtaſius* reporteth of this Pope? But leauing theſe men to their abſurd, and fond conceyts, I will go forward with my narration. Wherfore after *Bonifacius* ſucceded *Honorius*, of whom by meere miſtaking ſome haue deemed more hardly then he deſerued, for he was a wiſe, learned, mild, and humble man, and a friend to ſuch, as appeareth by the kind intertaynment which he gaue to S. *Bertoifus*, and Saint *Wiro* a Biſhop of *Scotland*, the later of which was ſo highly eſteemed

Beda lib. 2. hiſtor. cap. 10. & 11. Anaſtaſ. in Bonifac. 9. See Baron. anno. 633. Ionas in S. Bertolfo. vita S. Viron. apud Sur. 8. Maij.

by

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by

by that worthy noble man *Pipin*, whose posterity came after to be Kings of *France*, and Emperours of the West, that he was wont to go barefote vnto him to confession.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 17. 18. 19. & lib. 3. cap. 7.

The zeale also, and loue that this Pope bare in particuler to our country, may be seene in the letters which he wrote to King *Edwin*, and others in *England*, and *Scotland*, sending likewise *S. Berinus* to preach in our Iland, who conuerted those people, which *Bede* calleth *Genissi*, and at that tyme inhabited the country of *Dorcetshyre*, who at his departure receiued of Pope *Honorius* a corporall for the most Blessed Sacrament, for the recouery of which hauing left it on the shore by forgetfulnes, he wrought that great myracle of walking vpon the sea. The two Popes which followed, are chiefly commended for their great constancy in resisting, and condemning, the impious and hereticall decree of the Emperour *Heraclius*, and the former named *Seuerinus* is by *Anastasius* commended for an holy, and most benigne man, a friend to the poore, very liberall, and exceeding mild, and the later disbursed great sommes of money for the redemption of captiues, aud shewed his great zeale, and care of the *Scottish* nation, by writing to the Clergy therof, presently vpon his election.

Vita. S. Birini apud Sur. die 3. Decemb.

See Baron. Anno 639. & 640. Anastas. in Seuerino & Ioane.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 19.

The next Pope *Theodorus* declared no lesse zeale in deposing the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and *Hierusalem* for their heresy; then mildnes, and mercy in receiuing such offenders vpon their pennance, *Pirrhus* himselfe Patriarch of *Constantinople* being admitted among the rest, most kindly, and liberally intertayned at *Rome*, and finally restored to his former dignity. What should I say of the glorious Martyr *S. Martin* who

Libell. Stephani in Cõc. Later. sub Martino. & epist. 16. Martin.

who succeeded to *Theodorus*? the many myracles which are continually wrought by his holy interceſſion euen to this day, do ſufficiently declare his eminent ſanctity. *See Baron: anno 654.*

In his ſucceſſor Pope *Vitalianus* his tvme, that famous diſputation concerning the obſeruation of Easter was held before King *Oſwi*, in which S. *Wilfrid* hauing declared the vſe of the *Roman* Church, receiued from *S. Peter*, and all agreeing that Chriſt had built his Church vpon *S. Peter*, againſt which the gates of hell ſhould not preuaile, and giuen him the keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, the King concluded ſaying: *I aſſure you, I will not contradict this porter, but to my knowledge and power I deſire in all things to obey his ordinances, leaſt perhaps, when I come to the gates of the Kingdome of heauen, there be none to let me in, if he be auerted from me, who as hath byn proued, keepeth the keyes.* To which ſpeach of the King all other that were preſent gaue likewiſe their conſent. And the next yeare after, the King hauing by this meanes truly vnderſtood, that the *Roman* is the Catholike, and Apoſtolike Church, ſent the new elected Archbiſhop to *Rome*, that he might be conſecrated by Pope *Vitalianus*, but he dying, before his conſecration; the Pope ſent his kind letters to the King, and not long after directed that learned, and vertuous man *Theodorus* to ſucceed in that place. *Beda lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 29.* *Beda ibid. cap. 29.*

Of Pope *Adeodatus*, and *Domnus* who follow, it is recorded, that they laboured for the peace of the Church diſturbed chiefly by the Biſhops of *Rauenna*, and *Conſtantinople*, but the reconciliation of the Eaſt could not be effected vntill the tyme of Pope *Agatho*, who aſſiſted by *Conſtantinus Pogonatus* ended that con-

* * * * trouerſy

Anastasius in Agathone.

trouersy in the sixt Generall Councell; and besides obteined the releasse of that money, which the Arian Kings had first exacted for the ordination of the Popes, and the Emperours of the East had afterward retayned. All which was more, and more confirmed, and elarged by *Leo*, *Benedict*, *Iohn*, and *Conon*. For the Bishops of *Rauenna* were appointed to go for their ordination to *Rome*, and the Emperour was content, that the Pope being elected, should presently be consecrated, without expecting further confirmation from him.

See Baron. and Iacobus in these Popes.

Vita S. Kilian. apud Sur. die 8. Iul. Beda lib. 5. cap. 12.

Beda ibid. cap. 7.

Vita S. Altbelmi apud Sur. die 25. Maij.

Paul. Diac. de gestis Lon. lib. 6. cap. 11.

Beda de sex ætat. in Iustin. minore. See Baron. anno 693.

I omit many particuler prayses of these pious Popes, yet I will note by the way how *S. Kilianus* receiued his orders and mission at Pope *Conons* hands before he durst vndertake his Apostolicall function of conuerting some part of *Germany* to the Christian faith, as likewise *S. Willebrord* did his of Pope *Sergius*, who consecrating him Bishop called him *Clement*, who before also had giuen King *Ceadualla* the name of *Peter* in his baptisme, which the pious King would not receiue but at *Rome*, for the deuotion he bare to that Sea, desiring to begin his spirituall, and end his corporall life in that holy Citty. Finally this Pope was deliuered from a vile calumniation raised against him, by a manifest myracle of another of our holy Country men: he also condemned the erroneous Canons of the Synod which *Iustinian* the younger had caused to be held at *Constantinople*, for which he incurred the displeasure of this Emperour so highly that he was in danger to haue byn apprehended, and transported to *Constantinople*, but God protected the Pope, and not long after punished *Iustinian* most seuerely, by permitting him to be taken by his enemyes

and hauing his nose cut of, to be in that ignominious manner cast out of his Empire.

After *Sergius* came the 2. *Iohns*, the sixt, and seauenth, both very vertuous and holy men: the former is commended for his liberality in the redemptiō of captiues, to the later *Iustinian* being now restored to his Empire submitted himselfe, and the Canons of that Councell, in defence wherof he stood so stifly before, yea he disdayned not to prostrate himself vpon the ground before *Constantin* the next Pope, and to kisse his feet, from which humility, and deuotion the next hereticall Emperour *Philippicus* altogeather abhorred, seing his heresy condemned by the Pope. *An. 700.* *See Ciaconius.* *Anastasius in Constantino.*

But the two most vertuous, and constant *Gregoryes*, which succeeded, had more trouble with *Leo Isauricus* whom at length they were driuen to excommuricate, and depriue of his dominions in *Italy*, and with them agreed all the holy men of that tyme, especially *S. Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and S. *Iohn Damascen*, who wrote largly against the Emperours heresy and vsurpation, shewing at large, that Christ vsed not Kings in the Constitution of the Church, and that Kings had not preached the Ghospell, and finally concludeth thus: *Regum est ciuilis administratio &c. Ciuil administration belongeth vnto Kings, but Ecclesiasticall constitution appertayneth to Pastors, and Doctors. This violence* (of Leo) *belongeth to theeues. Saul rent Samuels cloake, and what befell him? God tooke away his Kingdome &c.* In the same Popes tymes liued also S. *Corbinianus*, and our blessed country man S. *Bonifacius*, and they both receiued their Apostolike authority of preaching to Infidels from *Gregory* the second. *Theophanes & Anastasius.* *S. Ioan Damascen orat. 2. de imag.* *Vita ipsorum apud Surium 5. Iunij. & 8. Septemb.*

Annal. Franc. à Pithœo editi.

Neither was *S. Bonifacius* leſſe vnited with their holy ſucceſſor *Zachary*, by whoſe apointment *Pipin* was created King of *France*, and annoynted by S. *Bonifacius*, who likewiſe cõtinued his coreſpondence with Pope *Steuen* the third, as appeareth by his letter to him, wherein he ſubmitteth himſelfe, and all his actions to the direction and correction of this Pope, as he had done before to his three predeceſſors. King *Pipin* alſo teſtified his deuotion to the Apoſtolicall Sea by the great reuerence, and humility, wherewith he receiued Pope *Steuen* at his comming into *France*: firſt proſtrating himſelfe vpon the ground, and after going on foot by the Pope being on horſeback for ſome ſpace. I omit the warre which he made vpon the *Lombards* at the ſame Popes requeſt, deliuering *Italy* from their inſolent tyranny.

Anaſtaſius in Stephano 3.

Of the next Pope *Paul* the firſt, *Anaſtaſius* writeth in this manner. He was mild, and very mercifull, neuer rendring euill for euill to any; and if he heard that any were moleſted by his officers, he procured their comfort. He vſed to viſit and relieue the moſt diſtreſſed ſick by night, as likewiſe the priſons, ſetting many at liberty which were in danger of death, and paying the debts of others who were detayned in that reſpect. And this ſhall ſuffice for this Pope, omitting his other pious endeauours for the publike good of the Church, aſwell with the hereticall Emperour *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, as in other reſpects. *Steuen* the fourth was a very learned, and zealous man, as appeareth by his Epiſtle to the two Sonnes of King *Pipin*, *Charles* and *Charlemaine*, wherein he moſt earneſtly diſſwadeth them from the pretended mariage with the daughter of the *Lumbard* King.

Anaſtaſius in Paulo.

Pope

Pope *Adrian* who followeth, was much addicted to fasting, and prayer, and to the workes of mercy, constant also in the defence of the Church, and against heretikes, in all which respects he was very deare to King *Charles*, as the fauours with which he assisted him in his life, and the prayers which he procured for his soule after his departure, do very wel declare. How much might be said of *Leo* the third, whose sanctity was sufficiently declared by that wonderfull myracle wrought in his person, when hauing his eyes, and his tongue pulled, and cut out, he notwithstanding recouered both perfect sight, & speach, and after all this intreated with King *Charles* for the pardon and life of his so cruell enemyes. A fit man no doubt, by whom God should accomplish so great, and necessary a worke, as the translation of the Empyre was, which he conferred vpon *Charles* the Great, as his piety to God, and fidelity to the Church most iustly required.

See Baron. anno 773. 774. 794. 795.

Anastasius in Leone 3.

Regino in Carolo magno. & Annales Francorũ.

Steuen the fift liued not many moneths, and yet he made a iourney into *France* for the good of the Church, where he was receiued with all respect by the Emperour *Lewis*, he prostrating himselfe thrice at the Popes feet. His successor *Paschalis* was by the testimony of *Anastasius* replenished with all vertues, and especially very liberall, and mercifull to poore and distressed people, which he particulerly vsed with our country-men who liued at *Rome* in his tyme, when their house was burned by their negligence, indangering likewise the Church of *S. Peter*, had not the Pope by his prayers, and pennance standing barefoot all night betwixt the Church, and the flame, quenched that fyre. To him also in great part is the conuersion

An. 800.

Anastas⁹, & vita Lud. cap. 38. & 39. & Thegan. de gest. Lud. cap. 16. 17. 18.

Anastasius in Paschali.

of *Denmarke* to be attributed, whither he ſent *Ebbo* Archbiſhop of *Rhemes* to preach the Ghoſpell. For *Eugenius* the ſecond, that commendation of *Anaſtaſius* may ſuffice, that he was a very humble, and learned man, liberall and a contemner of the world, only thinking night and day, what might be pleaſing vnto Chriſt.

Anaſtaſ. in Eugenio

Valentinus who ſucceded, is by the ſame author ſaid to haue byn a man of great ſanctity, and bleſſednes, and repleniſhed with the holy Ghoſt, and in particuler, a great almes-man, and a relieuer of the poore; but this Pope liued not aboue 40. dayes after his creation. *Gregory* the 4. is ſo highly extolled by the ſame author, that it were too long to relate all his praiſes. I will content my ſelfe with only mentioning the care which this holy Pope ſhewed in reconciling, and making peace betwixt the Emperour *Lewis* and his two Sonnes, to which end he refuſed not to vndertake a iourney into *France*; but not preuayling, and the Emperour being brought to that diſtreſſe, that he was enforced to reſigne his Empyre, yet this good Pope forſooke him not, but at lenght cauſed him to be reſtored to his former dignity. In which his ſucceſſour *Sergius* followed his example, refuſing to admit *Ebbo* Archbiſhop of *Rhemes* who had byn a chiefe actor againſt the Emperour, to communicate among the Clergy, vntill his cauſe were examined by a Councell. He likewiſe crowned *Lewes* the younger ſonne to *Lotharius*, but yet in ſuch ſort, that he would not permit the *Romans* to take their Oath of allegiance to him, but only to his father *Lotharius*. Finally the reuerence which *Siconulphus* Prince of *Beneuentum* exhibited to this Pope is memorable, proſtrating himſelfe on the ground,

Anaſtaſius in Valentino.

Anaſtaſius in Grego. 4.

Vita Ludouici append. Aimon Thegan. Paulus Aemilius in Ludouico.

Anaſtaſius in Sergio 2.

gound, kiſſing his feet, and craning his bleſſing. I omit the rare vertues, which *Anaſtaſius* recounteth of him, euen from his very child-hood.

The ſanctity of *Leo* the 4. was declared by myracles, for the droue away a noyſome ſerpent, or baſiliske which infected the Citty, and killed many people, by the interceſſion of his deuout prayers: he quenched a dangerous fire with the ſigne of the Croſſe, and by his meanes chiefly the Chriſtians obteyned victory againſt the Saracens, or Turkes. He was an excellent preacher, and conuerted many by that meanes. In his tyme went our King *Ethelwolphus* to *Rome* in pilgrimage and after his returne liued a moſt holy, and exemplar life. I need only ſay of *Benedictus* the third, that he was altogeather vnwilling to be Pope, ſo that he moſt earneſtly intreated with teares, that he might be ſpared, for this alone ſufficiently declareth his great deuotion, and other admirable vertues which *Anaſtaſius* relateth at larg.

Anaſtaſius in Leon. 4.

Polidorus Virgil.

Anaſtaſius in Benedicto 3.

To *Benedict* ſucceded Pope *Nicolas* famous for his excellent vertues, and great conſtancy, exerciſed chiefly againſt the Emperour of the Eaſt *Michael*, and that wicked Patriarch *Photius* in the defence of *Ignatius*, and the authority, and priuiledges of the Church of *Rome*. I will content my ſelfe with the commendation which *Regino* giueth to this worthy Pope: *Since S. Gregory to this tyme* (ſaith he) *no Pope ſeemeth comparable to Nicolas. He commanded Kings, and Tyrants, and ruled them with his authority, as if he had byn Lord of the world. He ſhewed himſelfe humble courteous, pious, and meeke to religious Biſhops, and Prieſts who obſerued Gods commaundements, but to the irreligious, and thoſe who ſwarued from the right way, he was terrible, and*

Vide epiſt. Nicolai.

Regino.

and full of austerity, so that another Elias is deseruedly thought to haue byn raised by God in our tyme, though not in body, yet in spirit and vertue. Thus he.

Ioan. Diac. in vita S. Greg. lib. 4. in fine.

Wherefore it is no marueile, though after his death he were seene in glory, togeather with *S. Gregory*. One of the memorable acts, which Pope *Nicolas* did, was the excommunication of *Waldrada*, whom King *Lotharius* kept, his true wife *Theutperga* being aliue, for which abominable sinne, he was likewise reprehended by Pope *Hadrian* who succeeded: but comming to *Rome*, and protesting his innocency, he receiued the blessed Sacrament at the Popes hands. Who notwithstanding contested both him, and his followers to say the truth, assuring them, that they could not escape vnpunished, if they dissembled in such a matter, which the euent declared to be true, for both the King, and all that ioyned with him in this wickednes, dyed within the space of one yeare, before they could get out of *Italy*. This Pope also defended the Emperour *Lewes* his right to *Lotharius* his brothers Kingdome, against *Carolus Caluus* who inuaded it, and deliuered *Carolomannus Charles* his sonne from the iniust violence of his father.

Regino & Aimon. lib. 1. cap. 21 Epist. Adrian.

See Baron. anno 870.

But I omit these and the like acts of iustice, and fortitude, contenting my selfe with that notable myracle wherewith God confirmed this Popes liberality, and benificence toward the poore, in which *Anastasius* affirmeth him to haue byn so excellent, that he might be compared to holy *Iob*: the myracle was the multiplication of money according to the number of the poore, and those of his owne family, so that there was sufficient to giue euery man 3. pieces, whereas of it selfe it would not haue serued the third part of the

Anastasius in Hadriano.

poore

poore, though euery man had receiued but only one; you may read his other admirable vertues in the same author.

Iohn the eight absolueth the Emperour *Lewes* from the Oath, which he was inforced to make to *Aldegisus* Duke of *Beneuentum* being his prisoner. He writeth to the King of *England*, admonishing him to imitate his pious predecessors, and to reuerence the Bishops of his Realme; and exhorteth *Eadredus* the Archbishop to resist both the King, and all others that should commit any disorders against the good of the Church. And though he were much blamed for admitting *Photius* to his communion, in so much that in this respect he seemeth to haue byn called a woman, and to haue giuen occasion to that ridiculous fable of a woman Pope, yet he afterward discouering the fraud, excommunicated him againe, as also his owne Legats, who dealt deceitfully with him. He also prohibited the Princes of *Italy* to make league, or peace with the *Turke*, vnder payne of excommunication. Reginos *Ioan. epist.* 55. 56. & 65. *See Baron. anno* 879. *Ioan. ep.* 199. *See Baron. anno* 880. *Ioan. ep.* 209. 225. 227. 247.

Finally *S. Methodius* the Apostle of *Morauia* being accused of false doctrine, was by this Pope called to *Rome*, and there found innocent, and obtayned many priuiledges for that new Church, among the which one was, that they might haue Masse, and Mattins in the vulgar tongue. But though this Pope ought to be commended for these, and the like Apostolicall functions, yet there want not other actions, that may be called in question; as the deposition of Bishop *Formosus* whom his labours among the *Bulgarians* by the appointment of Pope *Nicolas*, and the like, did not a litle commend; for which cause he *Ioan. epist.* 194. 195. & 247. *See Baron. anno* 882. 883. 884.

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was

was restored by Pope *Marinus* who followed; & shewed exceeding great constancy against *Photius*, nor fearing the rage of *Basilius* the Emperour, who took his part. And in this, Pope *Adrian* the 3. who came next, and liued not long, imitated his good example. *Steuen* the sixt was replenished with all vertues which *Anastasius* recounteth in particuler. To wit his great liberality, and familiarity toward the poore whom he inuited to his owne table, and his earnest refusall of the Popedome seeme most admirable, the myracle likewise which he wrought by the meanes of holy water, driuing away the swarmes of locusts that consumed the fruit of the earth, is very sufficient to declare his great sanctity.

Anastasius in Stephano 6.

Pope *Formosus* was a learned and a holy man and carefull in his gouerment, as appeareth by his writing to our King *Edward*, and the Bishops of *England* concerning the appointing of Pastors, in such places of the Realme as were destitute. Neither do there want testimonyes of his sanctity after his death. Hitherto for these *Eight* first ages the Protestants haue found very litle, or no matter against the Popes, but contrarywise their vertues haue byn so eminent, that all their enemyes are put to confusion, and silence. And the Protestants cannot choose but blush at their Ministers folly, who call such holy, and excellent men by the opprobrious name of Antichrist. But what doth not heresy, and malice?

Hinc mirus apud Frodoard. histor Rhem. l. 3. cap. 20. Guil. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Aug. lib. 2. Luitprand. lib. 1. cap. 8.

An. 900.

In this next ensuing Age, it pleased God to exercise his Church with a new kind of persecution, so that she might wel say with King *Ezechias*; *Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima*: for certayne Princes of *Italy* and the *Romans* themselues grew to that insolency

Esa. 38.

tha

that they would not permit any lawfull elections but did set vp, & put downe the Popes at their pleasure. In this manner presently after *Formosus*, one *Boniface* intruded himselfe, but he was put backe within 15. dayes, and *Steuen* the 7. got into his place by the like force, who continued 4. yeares, but in the end was taken prisoner, and put to death by the contrary faction of the *Romans*, who procured one called *Romanus* to succeed in his place, and he lying a litle aboue 4. moneths, *Theodorus* was chosen, who also dyed within 20. dayes: to him succeded *Iohn* the 9. who was a very good Pope, and reformed such abuses, as his predecessour had committed, establishing likewise the lawfull Emperour *Lambertus* against the tiranny of *Berengarius*. *For this whole age see Baron*[us].

Benedict the fourth is much commended for relieuing the poore, neither can there any iust exception be taken against him, nor his successour *Leo* the fift, who after 40. dayes was cast into prison by one *Christophor*[us], & he againe by *Sergi*[us] a most wicked mā; so much did factions of Princes especially of the Marquesse of *Tuscan* preuail in those dayes, yet *Anastasius* who was created within 3. yeares, and liued well nigh as many, seemeth to be irreprehensible. Neither can Pope *Lando* who followed be much blamed. But *Iohn* the 10. was most shamefully intruded, neither can the importunity, and force vsed by *Theodora*, or his victory against the *Saracens*, or finally his deuotions to *S. Iames* excuse him, though they were a motiue to the Christian world to acknowledge him for lawfull Pope. He continued 16. yeares, after which he was deposed, and murthered by the meanes of *Marozia* daughter to *Theodora*, who intruded him.

Leo alſo who followeth was put in priſon, and there dyed after halfe a yeare. *Steuen* the 8. liued 2. yeares, and dyed a naturall death. After which *Iohn* the eleuenth a moſt vnworthy man is intruded by *Marozia* his ſacrilegious mother, and *Wido* her huſband Marqueſſe of *Tuſcan*; after whoſe death both mother and ſonne are caſt into priſon, by *Albericus* Sonne alſo to the ſame *Marozia*; and ſo this intruded Pope dyed after fyue yeares. In whoſe place was appointed *Leo* the 7. a good man, and a ſeruant of God. Like vnto whom was *Steuen* the ninth, who procured to eſtabliſh the true King of *France*, and was ſhamefully abuſed by *Albericus* and his faction.

Martinus was elected after three yeares, & liued Pope as many more, he was very vertuous, laboured much for the reformation of the Clergy, and was indued with the gift of Prophecy. Neither was his ſucceſſour *Agapitus* inferiour vnto him. This Pope ſhewed his zeale, and care, by ſending his Legat into *France*, in fauour of that King and Realme, and calling a Councell at *Rome* to the ſame end. He alſo aſſiſted, and comforted the new Chriſtianity of *Denmarke*; and ſo after 10. yeares dyed in peace. At which tyme the ſonne of *Albericus*, named *Octauianus* thought beſt to intrude himſelfe, taking the name of *Iohn* the 12. by whom *Otto* the 4. was crowned Emperour, and yet afterward endeauoured to depoſe this wicked man, appointing in his place *Leo* the 8. by which meanes there continued a ſchiſme, for the ſpace of 3. or 4. yeares; for this *Iohn* being ſtroken, as is ſuppoſed, by the Diuell, the *Romans* elected *Benedict* the 5. a learned, and holy man. But the Emperour caryed him into *Germany*, where he alſo dyed.

And

And *Leo* liued not long, in whose place by common consent, *Iohn* the 13. was created; who sent Bishops, and preachers to the *Polons*, and *Wandals* for their conuersion, and assisted *S. Dunstan* Bishop of *Canterbury* in his reformation of the English Clergy; he gouerned the Church very well for the space of six yeares.

But his successour *Domnus* lyued only 3. moneths. And *Benedict* the sixt litle more then a yeare, being imprisoned and put to death by *Bonifacius*, who notwithstanding was not accounted a lawfull Pope, and not long after was expelled by *Benedict* the seauenth, who gouerned the Church very piously, and with much tranquility for the space of nyne yeares. After which *Iohn* the 14. was chosen: but the foresaid *Bonifacius* dealt with him, as he had done with *Benedict* the sixt; for which abominable tyranny he was himselfe punished with a suddayne death, and so gaue place for a lawfull Popes creation, who was named *Iohn* the 15. This Pope cõtinued for the space of ten yeares, and gouerned very well, as appeared by the care he had of the *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, who were conuerted in his tyme, and in great part also by his meanes. He caused *Arnulphus* the Bishop of *Rhemes* in *France* to be restored by his Legat, & *Hugo Capetus* who was newly come to the crown, durst not withstand, though he accounted *Arnulphus* his chiefest enemy, and a great friend to *Charles*, who contended with him for the Kingdome; to whose adherents the new, and vnheard of heresy is attributed, which affirmed: *Omnia licere Carolo, etiam in locis sacris*: that all things were lawfull to Charles, euen in holy, and sacred places.

Gregory the fifth the next Pope had an oppoſit ſet vp by *Creſcentius* a great noble man of *Rome*, but *Otto* the Emperour tooke an order with them both; by which meanes Pope *Gregory* being eſtabliſhed, procured alſo the eſtabliſhing of the Empyre, after the Emperours deceaſe, by authorizing, and appointing the Princes of *Germany*, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall, as ſecular to elect another. He likewiſe tooke order for the diſſolution of the Mariage of King *Robert* of *France* with his kinſwoman, and goſſip, enioyning thoſe Biſhops pennance, who had yielded thereunto, which ſentence was confirmed by the monſter, which that woman brought forth, hauing an head and neck like a gooſe. And thus after 2. yeares, and 8. moneths, this vertuous Pope gaue place to his ſucceſſour *Silueſter* the ſecond, who had ſometymes beene an enemy to the Apoſtolicall Sea, but was then Archbiſhop of *Rauenna*, againſt whom the ſchiſmaticall *Benno* feigned many incredible fables, the truth being that he was a very learned man. He was warned by a viſion to ſed the Crowne, which he had prepared for the King of *Polony* to *S. Steuen* the firſt King of *Hungary*, who made an obligation of his Kingdome to *S. Peter*, and brought *Tranſiluania* likewiſe to the Chriſtian fayth. This Pope *Silueſter* was the firſt that inuited men to the ſacred warre for the recouery of the Holy land. He cõtinued 4. yeares, and dyed not long after the Emperour *Otto* the third.

This is the ſucceſſion of Popes in this ninth age, wherein I cannot ſee, what aduantage Proteſtants can haue, as I haue largely ſhewed in my anſwere to their obiections, yea it rather ſeemeth to me, that this

this age affordeth vs a moſt notable example of Gods deuine prouidence toward his Church, and Apoſtolicall Sea; for in the tyme of this greateſt tyranny, yet he ſo prouided, that the greateſt part of the Popes were good men, againſt whom no iuſt exception can be taken, and though he permitted ſome wicked men to be intruded, yet they were free from hereſy, and farre from approuing any errour by their authority, which is the only priuiledge that Catholykes attribute to Popes, for that otherwiſe they may be euill men, neuer any man doubted. And yet we ſee how few of them hitherto can be charged to be ſuch. Beſides, in this tyme God ſupplied the want of better Paſtors, by the deuotion, and vertuous diſpoſition of the people, who had learned that leſſon of the holy Apoſtle, to obey their lawfull ſuperiours, though neuer ſo vnworthy. Finally this age was adorned with ſo many good Princes, and inferiour Paſtors or Biſhops, in diuers Nations, that neyther hereſy or ſchiſme was permitted to preuaile. And they all ſtood moſt ſtedfaſtly vnited to the Apoſtolicall Sea, howſoeuer it were turmoyled with domeſticall broyles, and in particuler our countrye floriſhed in this age, witneſſe Saynt *Dunſtan*, to omit the reſt.

Now then we goe forward with our relation from the yeare 1000. The Emperour *Otto* being dead, the *Romans* appointed two *Iohns*, the one after the other, for the former dyed very ſoone, the later was a learned man and reduced the *Grecians* to the vnity of the *Roman* Church, from which they had in ſome ſort withdrawne themſelues. He was Pope ſix yeares, after whom ſucceded *Sergius* a man much giuen to workes

Anno 1000.

Petr. Antioch. Epiſt. ad Michael. Cærular. & epitap. Ioan.

workes of mercy, he liued litle more then two yeares. *Benedict* the eyght continued 11. or 12. yeares, by whose meanes *Italy* was deliuered from the *Saracens*, and *Grecians*, and the holy man *Simeon*, an *Armenian*, from vniust accusation of heresy, and the peoples fury. After his death he appeared to diuers, signifying his being in purgatory, from whence he was deliuered by his brothers almes, and the prayers of *S. Odilo*.

Ditmer. l. 7. Glab. l. 3. c. 1 Vita S. Simeon. Petr. Damian. in S. Odilone, & ep. ad Nichol. 2.

Iohn the 18. *Benedicts* brother, was Pope more then nine yeares, and came to it by vnlawfull meanes, yet after he was acknowledged by all, in so much that the Emperour *Conradus* was crowned by him, our King *Canutus* being present, who gaue strait order to his subiects for the payment of the *Peter*-pence, and other duties of the Church. This Pope was deposed by the *Romans*, but restored by the Emperour, which reuolution was signifyed by a strange Eclipse of the sunne: and the same yeare the Pope also dyed. Pope *Iohn* being thus dead, *Albericus* Earle of *Tusculum* hauing none of his house of sufficient age to succeed, dealt so effectually by bribing the *Romans*, that they intruded his sonne *Theophilact*, though most vnfit, both in respect of his yeares, and other qualityes; he changed his name and was called *Benedict* the ninth, being acknowledged for lawfull Pope, as appeareth by many notable thinges which he did; vntill at length by the perswasion of an holy religious man named *Bartholomew*, he resigned his dignity; of which he after repented himselfe, and so was the cause of schisme, and much disorder; which was much reformed by the vertuous diligence of *Gregory* the sixt, who succeeded

Glab. l. 4. vita S. Cothardi Malms. b. l. 2. c. 11. Glab. l 5. c. 8. & 9.

See Baron. ab. anno 1034. and 1046.

ceeded him, as lawfull Pope, vnill for the conseruation of peace, he was content to resigne also, that the Emperour *Henry* the second might procure the peaceable election of another Pope, to the satisfaction of all but *Benedict*, who liued long after, and diuers tymes endeauored to intrude himselfe agayne but was alway reiected, and finally dying, declared his owne damnation, by appearing in the forme of a beare, with the eares and tayle of an asse.

Petr. Damian. Epist. ad fratres eremi.

Clement the second being thus elected, and *Gregory* the sixt gone with the Emperour into *Germany* the Church seemed to haue obteyned her desired peace; but this Pope liued not one whole yeare, and his successour *Damasus* the second dyed with in one moneth, leauing the glory of restoring the Churches discipline to *S. Leo* the ninth, whose Popedome was fore told by prophesy, congratulated by Angells and confirmed by many Miracles. He tooke away the great abuse of Symoniacall intrusions, and restrained the carnall liberty, which many Ecclesiasticall persons had taken to themselues; he spared not his owne nephew, who had vsurped certayne possessions belonging to a monastery, which he inforced him to restore vnder payne of excommunication; declaring vnto him the danger wherein by that fact not only he himselfe, but his posterity also were involued. *For* (sayth this Saynt to the Earle his nephew) *so long as thy offspring shalbe* (though vnwittingly) *polluted with this sacrilegious inheritance, it will either fayle, and be rooted out in a few generations, or els become miserable in this life, and suffer eternall torments in the other.*

See Baron. an. 1047. 1048.

Script. cod. sublat. monast. Sigebert. Leo Ostien. l. 2. c. 88. Herman. de fid. in dialog. Petr. Damia. ep. 16. c. 27. & 30.

Tritheim. in chron. Hirsaug. monast.

I omit the other testimonies of his sanctity, as

his

his pyous endeauours for the peace of Princes, and the vnity of the Church; that which I haue already sayd being more then sufficient for that which I intend. *Victor* the second approued, and confirmed the decrees, and ordinances of *S. Leo*, and his Sanctity was declared by the myracle, wherewith he escaped the prison which was prepared for him, as I had occasion to relate in the Treatise it selfe. The same course held *Steuen* the 10. but the shortnes of his life hindred many thinges which he purposed for the good of the Church. He was assisted and defended from the assaults of the Diuell at the tyme of his death by *S. Hugh* Abbot of *Cluni*, and wrought myracles afterward. *Nicolas* the 2. was by the testmony of *Peter Damianus* well learned, very Chast, and much giuen to almes; he made excellent decrees against Simony; and repelled *Aldrod* Archbishop of Yorke for that sinne. Neyther was he lesse carefull to represse the incontinency of wicked Priests. He deliuered the *Roman* Church from the tyranny of the *Italian* Princes, who had intruded the vnworthy Popes before mentioned. He wrote to the Bishop of Rhemes to admonish the King of *France* not to rely vpon their wicked counsell, who would perswade him that he might escape the Popes censures &c. And he entertayned *S. Edward* our holy Kings Embassadors and letters as kindly, graunting him all the priuiledges which he desired for his Abbey of *Westminster*, & making him partaker of all his owne good, and pyous labours, which he concluded after two yeares, and an halfe of his Popedome.

Leon. pp. Ep. 7. Lanfrãc. Lambert. vspergens. Vita S. Hugo cluniacens. Petr. Damian. Ep. ad Arch. Rauennac. Grat. can. 1. q. 1. Iuo part. 5. c. 79. Malsm. de gest. pont. Angl. l. 3. Grat. dist. 32. c. Null. Nichol. Aragon. ex act. Rom. põt. Epist. Nicol. 2. ad Arch. Rhemen. Vita S. Eduardi. Herman. Nichol. Aragon. Petr. Dami. dial. inter Reg. aduoc. & Rom. Eccles. defens. Leo Ost. l. 3. c. 20. & 35.

Alexander the second, who succedeed to Pope

Nicolas

Nicolas, had an Antipope set vp against him, but he preuailed not; he was a very vertuous man and his sanctity was declared by Myracles; his care and solicitude of the whole Church was exceeding great, and in particuler *England* was beholding vnto him. The King of *Germany* had such greeuous complaints brought against him, that this Pope was inforced to summon him to appeare at *Rome*; but the shortnes of his life gaue him not space to prosecute this controuersy, as his successour *Gregory* the seauenth afterward did; for which he is exceedingly calũniated by many euen to this day, notwithstanding his excellent vertues, the guift of prophecy, and working Miracles, wherewith he was endewed, and many other confirmations of that his proceeding taken from others, and some euen from his very aduersaries, inforced thereunto by the terrors, and punishments inflicted vpon them. Neyther did he proceed thus against the King of *Germany* only, but against many other Princes likewise; for all which he is highly commended by all the best historiographers of those tymes; and finally his successors insisted in the very same courses, and at length preuailed, and restored the desyred peace to Gods Church. *Victor* the third could scarse be induced to admit this great dignity, and after he accepted it, liued litle more then 4. moneths; he was a most deuout and holy man.

Houeden. in anal. Malmesb. in gest. pont. Vs. per gens. anno. 1073.

See Baron. who treateth of all this at large.

Leo ost. l. 3. c. 55. 66. 67 & 72.

Vrbanus the second presently after his election, wrote to all places, signifying his constant resolution to imitate Pope *Gregory* the seauenth in all things; which he also effectually performed, and finally obteyned perfect peace in *Italy*, intertayning the Em-

Berthold. Dodechin.

perburs ſonne and wife, who were inforced to fly from him, by reaſon of his horible, and ſhamefull cruelty. This Pope likewiſe procured the recouery of *Hieruſalem*, hauing gathered to that end 30. thouſand ſouldiars of diuers nations; he held many Councells for the good of the Church, and finally brought *Philip* King of *France* to humble himſelfe, and put away his concubine; vpon which he abſolued him from his excommunication. Neyther did he forget *England*, as appeareth by the many fauours, and kind entertainement giuen to *S. Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Paſchall the ſecond was elected wholy againſt his will, for he withdrew and hid himſelfe to auoid this dignity. He aſſiſted *S. Anſelme* as his predeceſſor had done, and by his Legats was inforced to excommunicate King *Philip* of *France* for hauing returned to the ſame cryme, from which he was abſolued by Pope *Vrban*. He proceeded in like manner againſt the King of *Aragon* for marying his kinſwoman, for which both the King, and Queene were not long after puniſhed by God. The Emperour *Henry*, who had ſo long ſtood out againſt the Popes, was at length driuen to appeaſe to Pope *Paſchall* againſt his owne ſonne *Henry* who ſucceeded him, and came to *Rome* to be crowned. The Pope exacted his oath for the Churches liberty, but he refuſed and caryed away the Pope himſelfe as his priſoner, & finally inforced him for the peace of the Church, to yield to many things againſt the Churches liberty, for which this Pope was much blamed by many zealous men, and finally he acknowledged his fault, and conſented to the Emperours excommunication denou-

Wilbel. Tyrius de bello Sacro. lib. 1. Bertholdus Edimerus & Malmeſb. Anno 1100. Dodechin & Anonymus Vatican. apud Baron. Malmeſb. & ep. Paſchal. inter Epiſt. S. Anſelm. & Houedt. Iuo ep. 212. fragment. Hiſtor. Franc. Ioan. Marian. l. 10. hiſtor. c. 3. Vrſpergenſis. Acta Sutrina. Petr. Diacon. chron. Caſſin. l. 4. c. 40. 70. c. Godfrid. Viterb. chron. p. 17. Iuo epiſt. 138. & 232.

denounced by others. But as he could neuer be induced to giue sentence against the Emperour, by himselfe, so he absolutly refused to absolue him otherwise, then by the consent of a Councell.

Nichol. Aragon: vita Godefridi. l. 3. c. 7. Vrspergensis.

To him succeeded *Gelasius* the 2, a very vertuous man. He was excedingly persecuted by schismatiks; and finally constrayned to fly into *France* where he also dyed within one yeare after his election. *Calixtus* the second was very noble by birth, but more noble by his piety. He first excommunicated the Emperour, because he would not resigne the inuestitures, as he was willing to do all other vsurpations; but not long after seeing the Popes constancy, he submitted himselfe, resigning the inuestitures also, and so the Church came to enioy her long desired peace, and freedome: by his meanes also the people of *Pomeria* obteined *S. Otto* their Apostle, who conuerted them to the Christian faith.

Pandulfus, & Vrspergensis.

Rogerus Houeden Malmesb. Vrspergensis.

Honorius the second is chiefly commended for the resignation which he made of his dignity, because there might be some question made of his election, as after his new confirmation there could not. *S. Bernard* reporteth of him, that he respected more a poore mans petiton, then a rich mans authority. In his tyme the Emperour *Henry* dying without children, the Empyre was translated to the house of *Saxony*, which had alway fauoured the Sea Apostolike, and now suppressed the other faction.

Pandulfus.

S. Bern. ep. 13.

Otto. Frising. lib. 7. cap. 17.

Innocentius the second was much molested with a schismaticall aduersary, but assisted by *S. Bernard*, he at length preuailed, in a manner all Christian Princes submitting themselues vnto him; and among the rest our King of *England* was presuaded

Sugerius in Ludouico vita S. Bern. lib. 2. cap. 1.

by the same Saynt, vsing these wordes vnto him. *Quid times? times peccatum incurrere, si obedias Innocentio? Cogita quomodo de alijs peccatis tuis respondeas Deo: istud mihi relinque, in me sit hoc peccatum. What do you feare? are you afraid least you should incurre sinne by obeying Pope Innocentius? Thinke how you may giue account to God of your other sinnes; leaue this to me, let this sinne light vpon me.* Whereupon King *Henry* went to the Pope, and prostrated himselfe at his feet, as the King of *France* had done before. And this shall suffice in commendation of *Innocentius*; he who desireth more, may read *S. Bernards* Epistles, and he wilbe satisfied.

To him succeeded *Celestine* the 2. but he liued not many moneths. *Lucius* also the second dyed within one yeare, he was much molested by one *Arnaldus* of *Brixia* who sollicited the *Romans* against him; he is by *Otto Frisingensis* called a meeke, humble, and iust man. *Eugenius* the third *S. Bernards* scholler was persecuted by the same *Arnaldists*. he was a very vertuous man, and of great, and rare parts; he continued secretly the austerity & pennance of a Monke, though outwardly he behaued himselfe like other Popes; he is highly commended for his integrity in refusing guifts, and presents, and procuring others to do the same; he laboured much for the recouery of the Holy land, and the extirpation of heresyes, which began to be spredin his tyme. He was inforced to excommunicate out King *Steuen*, for persecuting *Theobaldus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And in all these occasions, he was assisted by *S. Bernard*, who also wrote vnto him many Epistles, and those foure golden bookes of Consideration.

Otto Frising. l. 7. c. 31.

Vita S. Bern. l. 1. cap. 8. Joan. Sarisbur. in policratico. l. 5. cap. 15. Epist. S. Thomæ. 136.

See Baron.

Vita. S. Bern. in fine.

Finally

Finally he in all thinges shewed himselfe a true disciple of this great Saint his maister; in so much that he wanted not myracles to testify his holynes, He was Pope more then 8. yeares; but his successour *Anastasius* the 4. liued not 8. moneths. After whom came *Adrian* the 4. our countryman, who not long before had laboured much in *Noruegia*; presently vpon his creation, King *Henry* the 2. wrote vnto him, acknowledging, that *vniuersarum Ecclesiarum ordinatio ad eum pertinebat: the ordination, or disposition of all Churches belonged to him*. He crowned the Emperour *Fredericke*, with whom, both before and after, he had many contentions, he excommunicated the King of *Sicily* for inuading the Churches dominions; he rooted out *Arnaldus* and his faction, which had so long turmoyled the Citty of *Rome*. He complayned much of the heauy burthen of the Popedome, and all other dignityes, and declared notably the necessity that Princes haue of riches, by comparing them to the stomake, which receiueth meat for the whole body: he made King *Henry* Lord of *Ireland*, but yet expressed, that the Ecclesiasticall right & authority should remayne entyre, and inuiolated, as also the *Peter*-pence should be duly paid; finally his great sanctity appeareth, in that he bestowed nothing at all vpon his kindred, in so much, that he permitted his owne mother to lyne vpon the almes of the Church at *Canterbury*.

Petr. Bles. ep. 165. Codex Vatican apud Baron. Otto. Frising. in Freder. lib. 2. cap. 20. Ioan Saris. in Policr. lib 8 c. 23. & lib. 6. c. 24. Codex Vatican apud Baron.

This good Pope continued litle more then 4. yeares; vpon whose decease there followed a great dissention, and schisme. For *Alexander* the 3. being chosen, one *Octauian* fauoured by the Emperour *Frederick* intruded himselfe. But Pope *Alexanders* constancy

Alex. 3. ep. 24. lib. 1. Codex Vatic. apud Baron. Codex Vatic. & Radenic. lib. 2. cap. 51.

ſtancy was inuincible, with which he was willing to vndergoe any danger for the Churches liberty though at the firſt (ſuch was his admirable vertue) he would haue withdrawne, and excuſed himſelfe from accepting this eminent dignity: our King *Henry* the ſecond was one of the firſt, that acknowledged him; and after in *France* comming to him in perſon, did proſtrate himſelfe at his feet, kiſſing them, and refuſing a chayre of Eſtate prepared for him, would needs continue ſitting in the ſame place; yea he, and the King of *France* thought it no diſgrace to lead the Popes horſe betwixt them: which fidelity, and humility of King *Henry* was not forgotten by Pope *Alexander* in diuers occaſions. For firſt at his requeſt he canonized our glorious King *Edward* the Confeſſour: he alſo confirmed his predeceſſors gift of *Ireland* and when in the contention which this King had with his ſonne, he was inforced to craue the Popes aſſiſtance, in theſe earneſt wordes, *Experiatur Anglia, quid poſſit Romanus Pontifex*, let England try, what the Pope can do; he found this worthy man moſt forward to do him any good.

Acta Alexand. in codic. Vatic. & Robert. in append. Sigeberti. append. ad vitam S. Eduardi apud Surium, 3. Roger Houeden. Petr. Bleſ. epiſt. 69. & 136.

Finally though the cauſe, and ſanctity of *S. Thomas* was ſuch, that the Pope could not chuſe but fauour him againſt the King; yet he did it with that moderation, that *S. Thomas* himſelfe, and many others eſteemed him not forward inough. Many things might be ſaid in this Popes commendation, and that eſpecially of his exceeding great charity, wherewith he bewayled his enemy *Octauians* death: but I omit the reſt, and content my ſelfe, with that noble victory, which at length after 18. yeares he obtayned of the Emperour *Frederick*, who came, and ſubmitted

Codex Vatic. lib. 5. ep. 20. 21. 25. apud Baron. ibid. lib. 1. ep. 7.

Romuald. Archiep. Salern. relatio apud Baron. Roger. Houeden. Ibid.

mitted himselfe at the Popes feet. And thus hauing continued 22. yeares, and most worthily performed his office, he rested in peace. *Lucius* the third liued not much longer then 3. yeares: he absolued the King of *Scotland* from an excōmunication which had byn pronounced against him in Pope *Alexanders* tyme. He laboured for the recouery of the holy Land; and in his tyme the *Maronites* returned to the Catholike Church. *Ibidem.* *VVyll. Tyr. lib. 22. cap. 8.*

Vrbanus the 3. liued litle aboue a yeare. He constantly withstood the Emperour *Fredcrike* in his inuasion of Church liuings, and refused to crowne his sonne, vnlesse the Father would resigne, in which purpose he was much confirmed, when he heard, how the young Prince had abused a Bishop, so, that as the relator noteth, the like had not byn seene since the tyme of *Decius*. To our King *Henry* he gaue good leaue to appoint one of his sonnes King of *Ireland*, to which end he sent him also a crowne, and after directed his Legats to the same purpose, but the King altered his. The euill newes of the taking of the King, and Citty of *Hierusalem*, where the holy Crosse was kept, seemed to haue shortned his dayes; and the same may be deseruedly thought of his holy successour *Gregory* the 8. who continued not two moneths, in which he chiefly laboured for that cause, as appeareth by his letters, with which he encouraged men to this enterprise, and appointed a generall fast for fiue yeares, three dayes in the weeke, adding the fourth also for himselfe and his Cardinalls; who by his consent promised firmely, to leaue all riches, and pleasures to further this busines; and concluded a peace among all Christian Princes for the space of *Arnold. in chron. Slauon. lib. 3. cap. 16. 17. 18.* *Roger Houeden.* *Ibidem. & Neubrig. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

* * * * * * *

7. yeares,

7. yeares, subiecting those who should moue any warre within that tyme to the vniuersall excommunication of the whole Church: they purposed also to refuse all gifts, and presents offered by any, who had affayres in the *Roman* Court, and not to come on horsebake, so long as the land, vpon which our Lords feet stood, should be vnder the feet of his enemyes.

Ibidem Roger. Houeden & Itiner. Freder in append. ad Raderic.

The next Pope *Clement* the 3. promoted likewise the same enterprise, and at length, though not without much difficulty, he procured peace betwixt the Kings of *England*, and *France*, whereupon they tooke their iourney toward the holy Land, whether the Emperour *Frederike* was gone before. *Celestine* the third was at the tyme of his election 85. yeares old, and yet liued almost 7. yeares. He Crowned *Henry* the sixt sonne to the Emperour *Frederike*, who had molested the Church so many yeares, for which cause this Pope is said to haue made that demonstration of casting downe the crowne with his foote.

Roger Houeden.

He laboured much for the peace of *England* in the absence of King *Richard*, but much more for the liberty of the *King* himselfe, partly at the instance of his mother Queene *Elenor*, who wrote most earnestly in her sonnes behalfe, among others things asking the Pope this question, *Nonne Petro Apostolo, & in eo vobis à Deo omne regnum, omnisq; potestas regenda committitur?* Is not euery Kingdome, and all power committed by God to the Apostle *Peter*, and in him to you to be ruled? And againe: *Christi crux antecellit Cæsaris aquilas, gladius Petri, gladio Cõstantini, & Apostolica Sedes præiudicat Imperatoriæ potestati.* The Crosse of Christ excelleth the eagles of *Cesar*, the sword of *Peter* is aboue that of *Constantine*, and the Sea Apostolike is iudg

Apud Petr. Bles. epist. 145.

Ibid. epist. 146.

iudge of the Imperiall power.

Thus wrote this religious Queene; and not long after Pope *Celeſtine* vſed this his high authority, firſt againſt the Duke of *Auſtria Leopold*, who by the Diuells inſtigation had byn the cauſe of the Kings impriſonment, threatning both the Emperour, & the King of *France* with the like, if they did not deſiſt from perſecuting the innocent King. And God confirmed this ſentence againſt the Duke, with diuers, and moſt grieuous afflictions throughout his whole country. But he not taking this for a warning, and perſiſting in his wicked purpoſe, and refuſing to make ſatisfaction, as the Pope commaunded, was by him excommunicated the ſecond tyme, vpon which he felt Gods heauy hand vpon himſelfe, his whole body being conſumed with a moſt peſtilent heate, called the fire of hell. Neither did the Emperour eſcape the ſame ſentence, nor liue long after. The King of *France* was vrged likewiſe by the ſame Pope to take againe his lawfull wife, the King of *Denmarks* daughter, whom he had vnlawfully diuorced. Finally this Pope laboured much in the enterpriſe for the holy Land, ſhewing his great vertue, and deuotion in that, aſwell as in many other things.

Roger Houeden. Neubrig. lib. 5. c. 7.

Matth. Pariſ.

Roger Houeden.

Matth. Pariſ.

Arnold. chron. Slau. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Innocentius the third, was a very learned, wiſe, and vertuous man, he laboured for the recouery of the holy Land, gathering a moſt famous Generall Councell to that end. He confirmed, and crowned *Otto* the 4. but after was conſtrayned to depoſe him againe, becauſe contrary to his Oath he inuaded the territoryes of the Church; whereupon *Frederike* the ſecond was elected. Our King *Iohn* was conſtrayned to fly for reliefe to this worthy Pope, to whom he

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made an oblation of his two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*. In this tyme liued those two holy men *S. Dominicke*, and *S. Francis*, who by the Popes authority laboured much against the *Albigenses*, and *Pauperes de Lugduno* heretiks. The bookes, and epistles which this Pope wrote are sufficient testimonies of his sanctity, and wisdome. He liued 17. yeares. After which *Honorius* the third succeeded, and continued ten yeares. He laboured much for the holy Land, crowned the Emperours both of East, and West, and after was inforced to depose the later He confirmed also the Orders of *S. Dominicke*, and *S. Francis*, and fauoured the King of *Scotland*.

For the ensuing ages see S. *Antonius Platina, Ciaconius*, & others alleadged by him.

Gregory the 9. liued 13. yeares he had great contentions with the Emperour *Frederike* the 2. who at length much against his will was inforced to sayle into the holy Land, where he recouered *Hierusalem*, but not dealing sincerely, it was presently lost againe; and yet the Pope was content to accept such conditions of peace, as the Emperour offered; yea to excommunicate his sonne who rebelled against him; but nothing would satisfy the vnthankfull, and vnfaithfull Emperour, who raised a most cruell and barbarous persecution against the Church, and all good men; for which the Pope was inforced to excommunicate him againe, and would haue gathered a generall Councell, had he not byn hindered by this wicked Tyrant. He was a very holy, wise, and constant man. He canonized *S. Francis*, *S. Dominike*, *S. Antony of Padua*, *S. Elizabeth* of *Hungary*, and *S. Chunegundis*. He laboured much for the recouery of the holy Land, & establishing of holy Church: he is particulerly cõmended for his extraordinary deuotion

Celestin

Celeſtine the fourth, liued litle aboue a fortnight, the hope conceiued of his vertue made his death to be heauily taken. After which there could be no election for almoſt two yeares, by reaſon that the Cardinalls were detained in priſon by the impious Emperour; but at length at the requeſt of *Baldwin* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, they were releaſed, and preſently they elected *Innocentius* the fourth; the tydings whereof being brought to the Emperour *Frederick*, he ſhewed his diſlike, by ſaying, that he had loſt a friendly Cardinall, and got a Pope for his enemy, becauſe he knew very well the great magnanimity, & integrity of this man, which his new office would inforce him to ſhew. He was very learned, and not vndeſeruedly named the father of the law. He gathered a generall Councel in *France*, wherin by generall conſent the Emperour was excõmunicated anew, holy *S. Lewis* then King of *France* offering his whole forces to aſſiſt the Pope againſt the depoſed Emperour; but *Innocẽtius* thought it better to employ the King in the recouery of the holy land. He wrote likewiſe many very learned, & profitable bookes, & gaue himſelf to all vertue, & deuotion, in which holy exerciſes, he ſpent and ended his life after 11. yeares.

To him ſucceeded *Alexander* the 4. a very holy, and learned man, he excommuncated *Manfredus* the baſe ſonne of *Frederick* the ſecond, by reaſon of his ſacrilegious inuaſion of the Churches poſſeſſions, and partly for this cauſe, and for the impiety of his progenitors, and his owne vnfitnes, being but a child, he ſtraitly forbad *Conradus*, *Fredericks* lawfull ſonne to be elected; he is ſayd to haue had a viſion of *S. Auguſtine* admoniſhing him to fauour his order,

as he did: he was very compaſſionate, and liberall to the poore, and as great an enemy to all heretikes, ſome of whoſe bookes he burned with his owne hands: he liued ſix yeares, and aboue, in all which tyme he created no Cardinalls, but laboured moſt earneſtly for the good, and peace of the Church.

Vrbanus the fourth liued little aboue 3. yeares, but yet performed many notable things; and God fauoured his procedings againſt the tyrant *Manfredus*, who was not aſhamed to ſeeke for ayd of the *Saracens* againſt the Church; but their captayne *Perceuall* being miraculouſly ſwallowed vp togeather with his horſe in a ſhallow water, they did not preuaile. This Pope laboured, as his predeceſſour had done for the reconciliation of thoſe two famous common wealths *Genna*, and *Venice*. He ſent his Legats to the *Greek* Emperour for his inſtruction in the right fayth; he inſtituted the ſolemne feſtiuity of *Corpus Chriſti*, moued thereunto in part by a great miracle which happened in the dioceſſe of *Orueto*. He ſummoned *Alfonſus* King of *Caſtilia* and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* who contended for the Empyre to haue their cauſe tryed before him: and beſides all publicke affayres he was exceedingly giuen to his priuate ſtudy, and deuotion; by which it appeareth that he had reaſon to anſwere him, that obiected his obſcure parentage, that *we are not borne, but made noble by vertue*.

Clement the fourth was a prudent, learned, and holy man, as appeared by the peace which he concluded in *England* betwixt the King, and his nobility, and the great account which the King of *France* made of him, admitting him to be one of his priuy

Counſell;

Counſell; both which happened before he was Pope, & the latter alſo before he was Cardinall. He was by ſome termed the light of the law. He created *Charles* brother to the *French* King, King of *Sicily*, by which meanes he at length ſuppreſſed the Tyrant *Manfredus*, and compoſed all the factions & ſtirs of *Italy*, he himſelfe foretelling the victory while he was preaching at *Viterbo*. He neuer vndertooke any thing without his Cardinalls Counſaile. He proſecuted his predeceſſors pyous endeuours for the *Greeke* Church. He vſed much abſtinence, and other pennances, and vtterly refuſed to haue his kindred about him, forbidding them to promote any ſuites for others, and for themſelues he could not be induced to help them any otherwiſe, then he might, and would haue done, if he had continued in a meaner eſtate.

Gregory the 10. was choſen in his abſece, he being at that tyme in *Syria* with our Prince *Edward* and his ſiſter *Beatrix*, intending to viſit the holy Citty, ſince that his former purpoſe of going with *S. Lewis* King of *France* to the conqueſt of the holy Land, was hindred by the Sayntes deceaſe. He gathered a Councell at *Lyons*, where the Emperour, and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* were preſent, and reconciled to the Catholike Church; and many neceſſary decrees were wade for the future election of Popes; he liued litle more then 4. yeares, and dyed with great opinion of ſanctity, which was afterward alſo confirmed by myracles. *Innocentius* the 5. was a very learned and holy man; he began to labour earnekly for the peace, and good of the Church, but the ſhortnes of his life, being but 3. monethis, gaue him not leaue to proſecute his holy deſyres.

Adrian

Adrian the 5. had but one moneth after he was elected, in which he could rather purpose then performe any great matter, yet he sent his Legats to the Emperour *Rodulph* for his cōming to *Rome* according to his promise. *Iohn* the 19. liued litle aboue 8. moneths, he being learned himselfe, was a great friend, and fauourer of learned men, and relieued many poore schollars with his liberality. He sent also his Legats to the Emperour of the *East* to confirme him in his faith, and laboured for peace among other Christian Princes.

Nicolas the third is commended for his singular temperance, and continency, so that he was commonly called by the name of *Compositus* (that is a composed, and well ordered man) and esteemed a Virgin. He was also very wise, and magnanimous, and a great friend to learned men, especially when they ioyned piety to learning He was likewise very deuout, which his teares testifyed aboundantly. He laboured much for the good of the Church, and was peculiarly deuoted to the religious of *S. Francis* his order. He recouered many possessions of the Church, by the assistance of *Rodulph* the Emperour; finally by his meanes the East Church was more firmely vnited to the West: the Kings of *France*, and *Castile* were confirmed in amity, and peace and the King of *Hungary* became more constant in the Catholike faith, and zealous against heretikes. He was not Pope fully 3. yeares.

Martyn the second liued 4. yeares, but the tymes were so troublesome by reason of the war in *Sicily*, and other places, that he could not prouide for the good of the Church, as otherwise he would

would; for he was a great fauourer of piety, and religion, very liberall toward the poore, and excellent in all other vertues, as the many myracles wrought at his tomb after his death declared: by which it also appeareth, that he obteyned his desire, expressed in his signet, with these words: *Portio mea Domine sit in terra viuentium*. *Honorius* the 4. was a very wise, and vertuous man, and a great friend to learning, and piety. And though he were very ould, and troubled with the gout both in hands, and feet, yet he was most carefull, and diligent in his office; being very much assisted in the temporall gouerment of the Citty, and common wealth by his brother, who was in like manner afflicted with the same disease; whose saying was very well verifyed in them both, *that the head is more necessary for gouerment, then eyther hands, or feet*.

Nicolas the 4. is commended for his wisdome, and sanctity of life, he laboured much to haue reconciled the Kings of *England*, and *France*, as he had done those of *France*, and *Aragon*; but those Princes were so exasperated the one against the other, that they would not heare of peace, and at the same tyme the Emperour deceased, so that the good Pope could obteyne no assistance for the recouery of the holy Land; the losse whereof was a great cause of his speedy death.

Celestine the fifth was so holy a man, that all *Italy* admired him in that respect, and he was elected Pope for no other cause. Neither was he any thing changed with that great dignity, as appeared by his voluntary abdication thereof, and many other euident demonstrations. God seemeth only to haue

taken him for a meanes to end the controuerſyes, and contentions of the Cardinalls, which had continued a long tyme; for hauing prouided for the ſpeedy and peaceable election of his ſucceſſour, he willingly reſigned after fiue moneths, and God confirmed this, and his other admirable vertues with many myracles after his deceaſe. *Bonifacius* the 8. was very learned, and wiſe, by which meanes he performed many pious, and notable things, for the eſtabliſhing of the Church, and confuſion of hereſy; but his many, and great contentions with the houſe of *Columna*, and the King of *France* much obſcured his glory, and his high mynd loath to yield brought him to great miſery; by which God puniſhed his ambition, and other exceſſes, but yet his enemyes eſcaped not ſcotfree, according to the Prophecy of an holy Biſhop concerning the King of *France*: and the treacherous Citty of *Anagnia* acknowledged the ſame when it was to late: he liued ſomething more then 8 yeares.

Benedict the 10. was a very holy man, as appea-
An. 1300. red by his vertuous, and religious life, both before and after his election; he reformed all abuſes committed in his predeceſſors tyme, and among other rare teſtimonyes of his ſanctity, that was one, of his refuſing to acknowledg his mother, vntill ſhe had layd away the rich apparell wherewith the Courtyers had adorned her, and taken her poore countrey attyre, in which ſhe was moſt dutifully, and louingly intertayned by her worthy ſonne. He purpoſed alſo hauing once pacifyed Chriſtendome, to haue procured the recouery of the holy Land; but his vntimely death which happened within nine moneths, hindred this and other his holy deſignes, and God de-

clared

clared his ſanctity with myracles after his deceaſe.

Clement the fifth is chiefely commended for the Generall Councell, which he held at *Vienna*, in which many things were decreed for the good of the Church: he alſo condemned the *Begwards*, and *Begwins* who maintayned that Vſury was no ſinne, and ſuppreſſed other beaſtly heretikes called *Fratricelli*. He likewiſe concurred very earneſtly to the holy war intended by the Kings of *England*, and *France*. Notwithſtanding he is blamed for his too much condeſcending to the King of *France* in many things, and eſpecially for his remayning in *France*, which cauſed great inconueniences; he lyued Pope about 9. yeares.

Iohn the 20. was a wiſe, and a very learned man, much giuen to ſtudy, and the conuerſation of learned men; he made many profitable, and pious decrees. In his tyme the *Greeke* Emperour ſubiected himſelfe to the *Roman* Church. He procured earneſtly the recouery of the holy Land, prouiding much money to that end. He was much moleſted by *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, who made himſelfe Emperour, depoſed this lawfull Pope, and created another, who notwithſtanding afterward abiured his ſchiſme, and hereſy, and renounced his vſurped dignity, being very kindly intertayned by Pope *Iohn*. He was ſomething inclined to an erroneous opinion, concerning the happynes of the ſoules departed, but he recalled it wholy before his death, ſubmitting himſelfe to the definition of the Catholike Church, and of his lawfull ſucceſſours. He was ſober in dyet, modeſt in his behauiour, giuen to his ſtudyes, and deuotion, yet facile in giuing audience, but moſt conſtant in defence of Eccleſiaſticall right, and freedome. He was

Pope for the ſpace of 18. yeares.

Benedict the 11. continued 7. yeares, he was a very holy, and learned man, which appeared partly by his great care not to conferre ſpirituall dignityes vpon vnworthy perſons; ſaying, that *he would not adorne dirt with gold*. Which courſe he likewiſe held with his owne kindred, whom he vſed no otherwiſe in all reſpects, then if he had not byn Pope. His conſtancy was admirable, as alſo his deſire of peace among Chriſtian Princes. He aſſiſted King *Alfonſus* of *Caſtilia* againſt the Infidels, as he acknowledged by his rich preſents to the Pope, after his great, and miraculous victory. He was alſo a great friend of learned men, and eſtabliſhed many things for the good of the Church.

Clement the ſixt is highly commended for his excellent learning; he compoſed the Empyre, which had byn ſo long turmoyled by *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, who dyed not long after, as alſo his ſchiſmaticall ſucceſſor did; he ſhewed his great charity & liberality toward the poore in the tyme of a great dearth, and ſickneſs. Neither is his gratefull mynd to be forgotten, which he vſed toward him, who had relieued him, being in diſtreſſe, while he liued a priuate life: he was Pope ſomething aboue 10. yeares. *Innocentius* the ſixt was an exceeding holy man, very conſtant, and generally beloued; he laboured much for the extirpation of vices, and abuſes, beginning with his owne Court, and Cardinalls. He recouered much of that which *Lewis* of *Bauaria* had wrongfully taken from the Church. And thus after nine yeares he changed this life for a better. *Vrban* the fifth liued, and dyed ſo holily, that he is eſteemed a Saynt, which his myracle

do alſo confirme. He procured to ſet forward the enterpriſe of the holy Land againſt the *Turke*. He returned to *Italy* (but ſtayed not) where the Emperour *Charles* the 4. met him, yielding him all reuerence: thither came likewiſe the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* profeſſing the Catholike faith, and ſubmitting himſelfe to the *Roman* Biſhop. He exacted reſidence of Biſhops, and tooke away the immunity, which malefactors had, by recourſe to Cardinalls houſes: he was a moſt conſtant defender of the Church, and in all reſpects a very holy, and deuout man. He liued and dyed in his religious habit, hauing byn Pope ſomething more then 8. yeares.

Gregory the 11. liued 7. yeares; he was very learned, bountifull, and compaſſionate. He tranſlated his Court to *Rome*, moued therunto in great part by the perſuaſions of *S. Catherine of Siena*, whom he highly eſteemed; and thus hauing reſtored the Churches peace, eſpecially in *Italy*, he ended his dayes to the great griefe of all good men. *Vrban* the ſixt before his Popedome was much reſpected by all men for his great learning, and eminent vertues; but afterward not ſo much eſteemed by reaſon of his too much ſeuerity, the tymes not permitting ſo forcible a remedy; whereupon he was drawne into particuler contentions, and ſo driuen in great part to neglect the common good, yet he alway fauoured vertue, and was approued by the moſt vertuous, with whom alſo conſented the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, and our King of *England*. Neither could he be brought to haue *Italy*, and returne to *France*.

Bonifacius the ninth, is ſaid to haue byn one of the moſt notable, and wiſeſt Popes, that euer were.

The *Romans* were very reſpectiue, and obedient to him; he was very vertuous, and irreprehenſible, very courteous, and modeſt. He reſtored, and eſtabliſhed the Churches dominions; and was the cauſe of ſauing innumerable ſoules; he continued almoſt 15. yeares.

Innocentius the 7. is much commended for his vertue, meekenes, and deſire of peace; he was alſo very liberall, and a friend to learning; he liued litle aboue
*An.*1400. two yeares. To him ſucceeded *Gregory* the 12. who after 2. yeares was depoſed by the Councell at *Piſa*, to which he refuſed to obey, vntill the Councell of *Conſtance*, wherein both he, and *Iohn* the 21. ſucceſſour to *Alexander* the fift, who was choſen in the forſaid Councell of *Piſa*, were inforced to renounce, and giue place to *Martin* the third, elected by generall conſent; wherefore I omit to ſay any thing of the three foreſaid Popes, their election, and continuance being ſo doubtfull.

Martin the 3. called the fift was elected by vniuerſall conſent of the generall Councell of *Conſtance* which beſides 28. Cardinalls who were preſent, appointed other 30. Prelats for that election only of fiue ſeuerall nations, ſix of euery one; that is of *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spayne*, and *England*. He was very courteous, and no great medler in publike affayres before his election; he neuer conſented to, or fauoured any faction. After he was Pope he ſhewed great diligence, wiſdome, and expedition; preferring iuſtice before all other reſpects; all the whole world conſented in his election. *Spayne* it ſelfe, and *Scotland* forſaking *Peter of Luna*, who named himſelfe *Benedict* 13. He could not be intreated by any meanes to ſta

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Eugenius the 4. had liued a very holy, and religious life, long before he was made Cardinall; and being Pope, he alway ſhewed great affection to good, and learned men. At the beginning he was much moleſted with warres raiſed againſt him by treacherous, and falſe informations; and the ſchiſmaticall Councell of *Baſil* was no leſſe troubleſome vnto him; yet by his great prudence and conſtancy he ouercame all theſe difficultyes; and vnited the *Gracians* to the Catholike Church in the *Florentin* Councell; receauing alſo afterwards Embaſſadors from *Armenia* and *Aethiopia* to the ſame effect; finally by his procurement and aſſiſtance, the Kings of *Hungary* and *Polonia* obteyned a great victory againſt the *Turke*. He liued almoſt 16. yeares.

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which he made. He procured *Felix* the schismaticall Pope to renounce, whom he receiued with great benignity, and by that meanes restored the Churches peace, as afterward he did that of *Italy* likewise. He prouided also aboundantly for the Citty, whither in his tyme there came innumerable people, and among the rest, the Emperour, and his wife to be marryed, and crowned. He endeauoured to send ayd to *Costantinople* against the *Turke*, but the tyme did not permit him; the inconstancy of that people, who were already fallen from the vnion made by Pope *Eugenius*, prouoking Gods anger against them. This losse of *Constantinople* did so much afflict this holy man, that he neuer tooke contentment in any worldly thing afterward. And so the Patron of piety, and learning departed this life the 8. yeare of his Popedome being expired.

Calixtus the 3. was a man of great authority by his persuasion *Clement* the 8. a schismaticall Pope resigned that dignity, and the Kings of *Aragon*, and *Castilia* were reconciled. This Pope might haue byn Cardinall sooner then he was, if he had not refused it: he was wont constantly to affirme, that he should be Pope, hauing byn told so long before by *S. Vincent Ferrer*, whereupon he made a vow, that being Pope he would make warre against the *Turke*, which he did presently after his creation, to the admiration of all who considered his yeares. For he was 77. years old, and yet he preuailed so far, that if Christian Princes could haue byn persuaded to ioyne with him that enemy of Christendome had byn quite ouerthrowne, he hauing incited the Prince of *Persia*, and the King of the *Tartars* to ioyne with him; and *Iohn*

Vayuod

Vayuod hauing obteyned that admirable victory at *Belgrad*, with which the *Turke* was so dismayed, that he retyred presently in all hast to *Constantinople*. This Pope is also commended for his great integrity, and modesty. He was likewise very liberall to distressed people, and learned men; he liued Pope litle aboue 3. yeares.

Pius the 2. was so excellent in all vertue, and learning, that his piere can hardly be found in many ages; he was very studious and much giuen to deuotion, but withall exceeding courteous and diligent in publike affayres: presently vpon his creation, he gathered a generall Councell at *Mantua* for the recouery of the holy Land, and warre against the *Turke*, but the disagrement among Christian Princes hindred his desires; yet afterward he vndertooke the matter himselfe, and went in person, with an huge army to *Ancona*, where he was called by God to euerlasting peace, after he had byn Pope 6. yeares

Hitherto *S. Antoninus*.

Paul the 2. was chosen with generall consent, and applause, he prosecuted the warre against the *Turke*, going himselfe barefoot in procession to that end, but the discord of Christian Princes hindred now, as before. He was liberall, and a friend to the poore, & endeauoured by all meanes to procure, and mayntaine peace among Christian Princes. *Platina*, who endeth with this Pope, as *S. Antoninus* did with his predecessor, inueigheth bitterly against him; bewraying his owne passion, and discrediting his narration with all wise, and discreet men. He continued 7. yeares, and 10. moneths.

Hitherto *Platina*, whose history is continued by *Onuphrius*.

Sixtus the 4. was Pope 13. yeares, he was a religious man of *S. Francis* Order, his parents being

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constray-

constrayned to disposse of him in that manner, by a myraculous accident; according to the vision which his mother had of him; he was very learned, and so esteemed throughout all *Italy*, he also had the greatest offices in his order layd vpon him, which he discharged with great satisfaction; presently after his creation he sent his Legats to Christian Princes, for ayd against the *Turke* and peace among themselues. He receiued the King of *Denmarke*, and many other Princes, that came to *Rome* with great courtesy, and liberality; which he shewed generally to all in distresse, as appeared by the hospitall of the holy Ghost and other buildings, which he erected for their relefe. He likewise shewed his great deuotion many wayes; and his loue to learning is testifyed sufficiently by the Vatican library which he restored, and furnished. He alway kept the habit of *S. Francis* vnder his Pontificall robes, to his dying day.

Innocentius the 8. declared well by the prudent gouerment of his owne house, and other offices, how fit he was for this highest dignity; in which he was nothing at all changed, but reteyned his former courtely, and affability, so that whether he graunted or denyed the petition of any, yet none went away discontented; for which cause he is by some called *the most mild, and sweet Pope that euer was*. It was admirable how generall a peace he procured through out all Christendome, reconciling among the rest the Prince of *Scotland* to his father. He receiued *Gem* brother to *Baiazeth* the great *Turke* into his protection with such fidelity, that though he might haue had *Hierusalem* for rendring him, yet he vtterly refused such offers. He concurred with the King of *Portug*

in the conuerſion of Infidells, and with the King of *Spayne* for the expulſion of the *Iewes*, to which warre he contributed 70. thouſand crownes yearely; finally toward his later end, he had made the greateſt league, and preparation againſt the *Turke* that euer was, but this tooke not effect by reaſon of his death, which happened in the 8. yeare of his Popedome.

Alexander the 6. wanted no naturall parts fit for gouerment, and of himſelfe he was a friend of peace, and Iuſtice, but partly by the warres of *Italy* begunne by the King of *France*, and partly by the inemperat humour of *Cæſar Borgia* his ſonne, to whom he was too indulgent, many, and great inconueniences, and diſorders fell out in his tyme. He was Pope for the ſpace of 11. yeares.

Pius the third liued only 26. dayes, to the great griefe of all good men, who conſidering his rare, and excellent parts, and meaſuring what he would do being Pope, by what he had done before, expected great matters at his hand. But he ſeemed to haue other thoughts, as appeared by his deuout teares, which ſhed at his coronatiõ, by occaſion of that excellent ceremony of burning a litle flax, and ſaying to him: *Pater ſanctiſſime, ſic tranſit gloria mundi*; *moſt holy Father, in this manner paſſeth away the glory of this world*. *An.* 1500.

Iulius the 2. was Pope more then nine yeares, was a very wiſe, and moderate man; he freely gaue *Cæſar Borgia*, who had deteyned him long in impriſhment in Pope *Alexanders* tyme, who alſo requeſted the Cardinalls not to elect this man; he was the beginning a great friend to the King of *France*, betwixt whom and the King of *Spayne* he procured peace; and afterward entred himſelfe into a league

with them, and the Emperour against the *Venetians*, who had gotten many of the Cittyes of *Italy* into their hands. But afterward, when the Pope at the *Venetians* humble petition, would haue ended that warre, the French refused; wherupon succeeded great garboyles in all *Italy*, though at length the French were expelled, and *Italy* restored to peace, the King of *Spayne*, and *England* taking the Popes part. By these warres this worthy Pope was hindred from many notable things, which he intended. Yet he gathered the *Lateran* Councell, wherein he extinguished the Schisme, which a few discontented Cardinall by the instigation of the *French* King began to make.

Leo the 10. continued 8. yeares, and as many moneths; he was but young in yeares, yet mature in iudgment, as he shewed in part at his coronation which he appointed to be vpon the same day of the moneth, vpon which not long before he had byn taken prisoner by the *French*. Neither would he ride on any other horse, then that which he had at that tyme. He was desirous of peace, and did willingly forgit his owne enemyes; he sollicited Christian Princes to agree among themselues, and ioyne against the *Turk*. He summoned *Luther* who began his new heresy this tyme, to appeare at *Rome*, and after sent the learned Cardinall *Caietan* to deale with him in *Germany*, but all in vayne: for the Apostata hauing got the Duke of *Saxony* for his refuge, became euery day more peruerse, and pertinacious. This Pope was exceeding great friend of learning, and excelled in many other vertues, but aboue the rest in clemency and liberality.

Adrian the *sixt*, liued not much longer then one yeare.

yeare. He was maſter to Charles the fift, and gouernour of *Spayne* in his abſence. He ſent aid to *Rhodes* againſt the *Turke*, but it came to late; which he procured to repayre by ſending great prouiſion of corne, and gun-powder into *Dalmatia*, and *Creatia*, which by that meanes were in danger, and finally he concluded a league againſt this common enemy, betwixt the Emperour, the Kings of *England*, and *Hungary*, and the cõmon wealth of *Venice*, into which the King of *France* might alſo enter if it pleaſed him. He laboured likewiſe for the good of *Germany* againſt *Luther*, as appeareth by his letters written to the Princes therof, and eſpecially to the Duke of *Saxony*, to whom he had ſent his Legat; exhorting them to forſake that impious hereſy, and to ayd King *Lewis* of *Hungary* againſt the *Turke*; he was a very learned, prudent, and pious man, as the whole courſe of his life doth teſtify, and the good order he began to take for the reformation of all vices, and abuſes; he was exceeding carefull in diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſticall liuings, neither could he be induced to reſpect his owne kindred aboue their deſerts; vſing to this purpoſe that notable ſaying; *that his deſire was to giue men to benefices, not benefices to men.*

Clement the 7. liued 10. yeares, but he was ſo moleſted with warrs, that he could ſcarcely attend to any thing els, yet he receiued the *Aethiopian* Embaſſador with great ioy, crowned the Emperour *Charles* at *Bononia*, and decided the controuerſy betwixt King *Henry* the 8. and Queene *Catherin*, being alſo enforced to excommunicate the King, becauſe he did put away his lawfull wife, and marry againe while ſhe was liuing.

Paul the third was a moſt pious, and prudent man, he laboured exceedingly for peace betwixt *Spayne* and *France*, and that Chriſtian Princes would ioyne their forces againſt Heretiks, and Infidels, to which warres he did both willingly, and liberally contribute. He began the Coūcell of *Trent*, chooſing that Citty as moſt conuenient and commodious for the *German* nation; he confirmed the Inſtitute and Order *of the Society of Ieſus*, foreſeing the great good, which would inſue to the Church therby; and finally he imployed himſelfe wholy to performe the office of a good Paſtour, all which the Cardinalls iudged at his election, as appeared by their vniforme conſent and earneſt deſire, in ſo much that they would haue made him Pope preſently vpon his predeceſſors death (as his ſaid predeceſſour had intreated them) without any Conclaue, if the great wiſdome, and modeſty of *Paul* had not deteyned them. He was free from all partiality, and a common father to all, only reſpecting the vertue, learning, and other qualityes of euery one, in diſcerning of which, and diſcouering mens mynds, he had a rare, and ſingular gift. He liued ſomething more then 15. yeares.

Iulius the third was very vertuous, courteous, and moderate in his gouerment. He receiued the Patriarch of *Armenia*, and another of the Eaſt Church, who imbraced the Catholike faith, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Apoſtolike Sea; which our vertuous and worthy Queene *Mary* did alſo in his tyme. He was exceeding deſirous of peace, and laboured carefully for the good of the Church; for which cauſe he cōtinued the Councell of *Trent*, offering moſt ample ſafe conduct to all Proteſtants that would come thither

ther, and propose their difficultyes, & doubts. *Marcellus* the second died within one moneth to the great griefe of all good men; for his vertue, and wisdome were so admirable, and his purposes, and desires so holy, that all men expected great matters by his gouernment.

Paulus quartus, was a very holy, and learned man, especially in the tongues, and Scripture; he shewed his contempt of the world, by renouncing and refusing two Bishopricks, and liuing a priuate religious life; his wisdome also appeared in many occasions, both before he was Pope and after He was zealous in Gods cause, and a great enemy to heresy; in administring iustice he spared not his owne kinred: finally he was rather inclined to be seuere, then otherwise, yet he moderated this in such manner, that no man could iustly take offence He was Pope little aboue 4. yeares being 79. yeares ould before his election.

Pius 4. his election seemed to be signifyed by a Doue, which comming into the Conclaue, after much flying vp & downe at length rested in his Cell; he was naturally very mild, and clement, yet he shewed himselfe seuere inough to the kindred of his predecessour, calling their actions in question, and pushing them with much austerity; because he apprehended a great necessity of giuing such people an example, to vse their authority, and prosperity with modesty, and moderation. He receiued an Easterne Patriarch with great courtesy, and liberality. he renewed, and ended the Councell of *Trent*, confirming the Decrees therof, and exacting the obseruation of them. He sent great ayd to the Ile of *Malta* besieged

beſieged by the *Turke*, and aſſiſted it likewiſe with his publike deuotion, and proceſſions. And thus after fiue yeares he departed this life like another *Simeon*, vſing his words: *Nunc dimittis ſeruum tuum Domine, ſecundum verbum tuum in pace.*

Hitherto Onuphrius.

Pius quintus was a very learned, & holy man; he was ſo farre from ambition, that he could ſcarcely be intreated or perſuaded to accept ſo high a dignity. The Romans feared his ſeuerity, but he verifyed by deeds, that which he preſently deliuered in words, *that by Gods grace he would behaue himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould be more ſory for his death, then they were for his election.* He was exceeding liberall, and mercifull to poore, and diſtreſſed people. He carefully procured the obſeruation of the Councell of *Trent*, and vſed great diligence to be particularly informed of thoſe, who beſt deſerued to be promoted to Eccleſiaſticall dignityes. He alſo made many pious decrees. He was exceeding zealous againſt Heretikes, and Infidells, as appeared by the league which he procured againſt the *Turke*, which he had renewed, and increaſed, if his life had byn prolonged; but he fell into a troubleſome, and paynfull ſickneſs, in which he was often wont to repeat the perfect, and deuout prayer, *Domine adde ad dolorem meum dummodo addas ad patientiam. Lord increaſe the payne, ſo that thou increaſeſt my patience.* And thus this holy man concluded his vertuous and happy dayes after he had byn Pope 6. yeares, and ſomething more.

Gregory the 13. was a very wiſe, pious, and learned man: the manner of his ſpeedy election declared the great opinion, which all the Cardinalls

concer

conceiued of his fitneſſe for this higheſt dignity. He was exceeding liberal, and bountifull. He laboured earneſtly for the propagation of the Catholike faith againſt heretikes, and Infidells; which he chiefly performed by the erection, and foundation of 23. Colledges in diuers parts of the world; which for the moſt part he committed to the gouernment of the *Fathers of the Society of Ieſus*; and in particular to our nation he ſhewed himſelfe a true father, and another *Gregory*. He furthered the election of a Catholike king in *Polonia*, and procured the league againſt the Turke begun by his predeceſſour, to be confirmed; he happily corrected the Calender, which in a manner all the world hath imbraced beſides our countrey. He ſent Father *Antonius Poſſeuinus* of the Society of *Ieſus*, a very pious, prudent, and learned man to the great Duke of *Moſcouia* for his inſtruction in the truth. From whom whence, as alſo from *Aethiopia* and *Egipt*, there came Embaſſadors to him, yea from *Iaponia* it ſelfe there came 3. Princes from the King of *Bungo*, and the Lords of *Arima* and *Omura*, to yield their obedience to the Sea Apoſtolike. Neither did this notable man in the midſt of all theſe publike affayres, wholy intermit the courſe of his ſtudyes; being wont to ſay, *that much knowledg was as neceſſary for a Pope, as for any other*. He liued to the age of 84. being of a very ſpare, and moderat dyet, yea euen then obſeruing the faſt of Lent, which ſeemed to haue byn the cauſe of the ſickneſs whereof he dyed, he liued Pope litle leſſe then 2. yeares.

Sixtus quintus was a learned man and a good teacher, he preſently tooke order for publike malefactors, and procured much peace, and tranquility

in his temporall dominion, which he alſo adorned with many magnificent buildings, and eſtabliſhed with profitable lawes, prouiding aboundantly for plenty of victualls. He alſo allotted much money for the redemption of captyues, and made preparation for ſome great attempt, if he had liued long, but he dyed after fiue yeares, and litle more.

Vrbanus the 7. liued but 12. dayes, ſo that he had no tyme to ſhew his ſingular wiſdome, and vertue. He intended many excellent things, but being aſſayled with ſicknes, he gaue himſelfe wholy to the care of his ſoule, and the cogitations of the other life. Neither could he be induced to confirme the title of *Nuncio* which he purpoſed to beſtow vpon his nephew, who deſerued it very well, and the like modeſty and vertue, he obſerued in all other occaſions; beſtowing euen his owne patrimony on pious workes.

Gregory the 14. continued 10. moneths, but he was ſo afflicted with ſicknes, that he could not much attend to publike affayres; yet he vſed all diligence to prouide the Citty, and country of corne, of which there was exceeding great ſcarcity. He refuſed alſo to yield to the Duke of *Ferrara* his requeſt, for his ſucceſſor, becauſe he had no lawfull iſſue, and therfore that ſtate was to returne to the Churches dominion. This Pope was very vertuous, deuout, and temperat; and would no doubt haue aduanced all piety, if health and life had permitted him; of which his great liberality to all pious houſes in *Rome* preſently after his election, was a good teſtimony.

Innocentius the 9 liued litle aboue 2. moneths; in which tyme he prouided againſt the want, and dearth of the Citty; he decreed that Church liuings

ſhould

ſhould not be alienated, and made many other good purpoſes, in all which he vſed much deliberation, in ſo much that he refuſed to graunt the Cardinalls certayne requeſts, before he had taken tyme to thinke vpon them; he was a very learned, vertuous, and wiſe man, and of great experience; much delighted alſo with the conuerſation of learned men; he was very ſpare, and temperat in diet, and finally indewed with ſuch rare qualities, that all men conceiued great hope of his gouerment.

Clement the 8. was a very wiſe, and deuout man, as appeared by his going in Proceſſion barefoot; and his celebrating the holy Sacrifice with many teares. He reconciled, and reunited the Kingdome of *France* to the Apoſtolike Sea, recouered the Citty of *Ferrara* for the Church; and performed many other notable things to the benefit therof. He liued ſomething more then 12. yeares. Hitherto *Ciaconius.*

Leo the 11. cõtinued not a moneth, he was a very wiſe and holy man, as appeared by the many good purpoſes, which he made, as alſo by his conſtant refuſing to aduance any of his kindred; in ſo much that being moued thereunto by his Confeſſarius, he preſently changed him, and tooke another religious man of eminent ſanctity, who aſſiſted him to the tyme of his death. *An.* 1600. *Baron. ad.* 1178.

Paul the fift, is Pope at this day, being elected the 16. of may 1605. His vertues are manifeſt to the whole world; his deſire of peace appeared in that which he made with the *Venetians*. His vigilancy, and care of his flock may be gathered by that which we haue experienced in England; his facility in giuing audience, and his many other vertues wilbe re-

giſtred after his death.

Thus we haue breefly declared the true hiſtory of all the Popes, by which it appeareth, what litle reaſon Proteſtants haue to repeate ſo often, and exaggerat ſo much the faults, and imperfections of ſome few, without mentioning the admirable vertues, and worthy endeauours of ſo many, for what wonder is it, that of 230. and more, there ſhould be found a dozen worthy of reprehenſion? Shall not the vertue of the reſt couer the imperfections of theſe? Can this be any thing but moſt venemous malice, and enuy? Will any man be moued hereafter with ſuch childiſh inuectiues, and friuolous rayling? Shall Proteſtants be accounted any better then the *Chams* of our tyme, who ſeeke thus againſt all reaſon to diſcouer their Fathers nakednes, and expoſe him to the deriſion, of the whole world? eſpecially ſince that like dutifull children they might hide and couer theſe their faults, with ſo many perfections and excellent exploits; yea they might turne their indignation againſt the cauſers, and procurers of theſe inconueniences; that is, againſt the tyranny, and ambition of ſome ſecular Princes, and people, who haue intruded ſuch vnworthy men into this holy ſeat; and extoll the great, and admirable prouidence of God toward his Church, who hath permitted theſe diſorders ſo ſeldome; and then alſo at ſuch tymes, as they might doe leaſt harme, as we haue obſerued before.

But neuer fayling in the performance of his promiſe of teaching his Church all truth, ſo that though he hath giuen way to other vices in theſe few, yet he hath alway ſhut the dore againſt all hereſies,

and

and errours. And therefore we may well say with S. *Augustine, that though some traytor* (to vse his word) *had crept into his succession,* nihil preiudicaret Ecclesiæ, & innocentibus Christianis: *it were no preiudice to the Church, and innocent Christians*. of which number God graunt vs all to be by adhering to our lawfull Pastors, and embracing their doctrine, which is alway most certayne, and pure, howsoeuer some of their actions may be reprehensible, and blame-worthy, and yet for the most part they afford vs also excellent examples of all piety and vertue, as may euidently appeare by this narration to any indifferent *Reader*.

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THE

THE SECOND PART OF ANTICHRIST.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Wherein M. Downams *first Chapter, propounding the State of the Controuersy, and the groundes of his proofes, is discussed.*

FIRST M. *Downam* giueth his reasons why he thought good to put this his Booke in print, viz. *to confound the obstinate Papists*, and, *reclaime the tractable*, and, *to confirme the sound Protestants*, and, *to stay the wauering*: Of which sort he saith, that *very many* haue fallen from them, *within these few yeares*, and therefore he directeth his labour chiefely to them. But I nothing doubt by Gods grace, but that he shall faile of his purpose in all these respects, and that not only Catholickes will be nothing moued with this his discourse, but that very many Protestants euen of the soundest (among which I partely wish M. *Downam* himself to be one) will open their eyes, and see, to what absurd, and blasphemous paradoxes their heresy hath brought them, and consequently retyre themselues to the Catholick Church which

now they impugne, & out of which there is no saluation.

2. For, as M. *Downam* affirmeth, *this is the chiefe of all Controuersies, and of the greatest consequence; for if this were once throughly cleared, all others would easily be decided.* In which he likewise saith truly, that we account *his assertion blasphemy*, and his, and his friends *arguments dotages*, which how truly *Bellarmine* affirmeth of those, whom he confuteth, appeareth in this, that *M. Downam* durst not once open his lips in theyr defence: and both of them, and himself it will appeare more plainly by that which we haue to say. In the meane time the Reader may coniecture in part, if he haue perused my Confutation of M. *Downams* Answere to *Bellarmins* arguments, since that here he acknowledgeth that it is *an harder matter to demonstrate their assertion*, then to disproue ours; wherfore if he hath not beene able to performe the more easy, no doubt he will faile in that which is more difficult, and hard.

3. Well then to beginne: M. *Downam* admitteth *Bellarmines* distinction of Antichrist, into the common
Chap. 2. 1. acception for *all Christs enemies*, and the proper or peculiar, for Antichrist κατ' ἐξοχήν, though they differ a litle in their explication, which must be tried by their proofes; and
See part. 1. chap. 1. that flourish which M. *Downam* maketh concerning the name it self, is altogeather against himself, as we haue seene.

4. Now whereas M. *Downam* telleth vs, that although Antichrist, *be but one person, yet he is continued not in one singular & definite persō, but in a succession of many*, he seemeth expressely not to explicate, but to contradict himself, and his (for) if he meaneth to make it a proofe, it is very ridi-
M. Downam contradicteth himself. culous. But perhaps he vseth it only as an explication, in which sort it may serue his turne, to giue vs to vnderstand that his opinion is that there shalbe as many proper, peculiar, and chiefe Antichrists, as Popes after *Boniface* the third.
See part. 2. chap. 2. But then we must request him to proue it, before we believe it, especially since *Bellarmine* hath proued the contrary, viz. that Antichrist shalbe but one singular person whom M. *Downam* hath not beene able to answere. Likewise for his beginning to accompt the Popes Antichrist from *Boniface* the third, it is spoken without any groun-

for that which he bringeth heere of *Phocas*, giuing him a title, which no Pope euer had before, is most false, and confuted by *Bellarmine*, to whom we haue also seene what M. *Downam* could reply, and confuted all his shifts at large. Neither is that which he bringeth out of *S. Gregory* any better; and the chiefest part of it hath beene confuted before, but yet because M. *Downam* alleadgeth only this place out of the Fathers, I will examine it to the full: the wordes then which he reciteth are these: *Omnia enim quæ prædicta sunt, fiunt. Rex superbiæ prope est, & quod dici nefas est, Sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus.* For all thinges which *were foretold, doe now come to passe. The king of pride* (meaning Antichrist) *is at hand, and that which is horrible to be spoken, an army of Priestes is prepared for him*: out of which he inferreth two things. 1. That *Antichrist was come almost a thousand yeares since.* 2. That *the Pope our Prince of Priests, who not only succeedeth Iohn of Constantinople in that Antichristian title, but also far exceedeth him in all Antichristian pride, challenging a soueraigne, and vniuersall authority, not only aboue all other Bishops, and Priestes, but also aboue all Kinges, and Emperours, is that Antichrist.* Concerning the first, it is true, that *S. Gregory* inclined to think, that Antichrist was at hand in his tyme, as most of the Fathers thought also in theirs, for since the tyme of his comming was vncertaine, they tooke it to be more wisdome, to inclyne to the surer side, especially because they saw the signes, which our Sauiour had foretold, to come to passe in their tyme. But they were far from affirming this as certaine, which they knew was kept from their knowledge: for that they had the same conceipt of the end of the world, as well as of the comming of Antichrist, appeareth plainly by this very place of *S. Gregory*, where immediately before the wordes alleadged, he explicateth, what things those are, which he said, did then come to passe, viz, pestilence, warres, earthquakes &c. All which our Sauiour assigned for tokens, that the world grew to an end. Yea when he saith, that the *King of Pride is at hand*, he seemeth not to marck the time so much, as M. *Downam* doth, but only to affirme, that he might well say, that now both Antichrist, and the end of the world was at hand, since S.

See part. 1. c. 3. n. 4.

See part. 1. chap. 13. n. 10.

Gregor. l. 4. ep. 38.

See part. 1. cap. 3.

How S. Gregory thought Antichrist to be at hand in his tyme.

Iohn said of his time, that it was then the last houre. Wherefore though S. *Gregory* had spoken as confidently, as M. *Downam* affirmeth, it were nothing at all against vs. But surely I cannot find those wordes, which he alleadgeth (*fidenter dico*) though I haue perused with diligence and of purpose all the three epistles which M. *Downam* alleadgeth, and two others also which treat of the same controuersy with *Iohn of Constantinople*. And thus much for the first inference. Now whereas in the second M. *Downam* inferreth that the Pope is Antichrist, he seemeth to touch three groundes of this illation. 1. For that he is the Prince of Priestes: for to this end he seemeth to obserue out of S. *Gregories* wordes, that he would *insinuate*, that Antichrist *should be the Prince of Priests*. But indeed S. *Gregory* insinuateth no such matter, but rather admireth to see that any Priests should be growen to that exceesse of pride, that in that respect, & not in respect of their Priesthood, they should prepare the way for Antichrist, & be ready also to ioyne with him themselues, when he came. For which cause one of the motiues, that he vseth to dissuade *Iohn of Cõstantinople* frõ this abominable pride, is, because he was a Priest; and this also signifieth that Parenthesis (*quod dici nefas est.*). For if S. *Gregory* had reprehended all Priests, or the Prince of Priests he should haue reprehended himself, as will presently appeare; but he reprehended *Iohn of Constantinople*, not because he was a Priest, but because he was proud, and his pride consisted in this, that he assumed to himself such a title, as was in no sort due to him, and which his superior had refused. M. *Downams* second ground is, that the Pope now hath that title which *Iohn of Constantinople* pretended and which *S. Gregory* calleth *a name of blasphemy, a prophane, and peruerse word*. But the contrary is certayne: for the title which *Iohn of Constantinople* pretended was to be called *Vniuersall Bishop*, or *Generall Father*, in such sort, that there should be no other bishops in the Church but he, as is manifest out of S. *Gregory* himself who *ep.* 39. affirmeth, that *if one be called vniuersall Patriarch, the name of Patriarch is taken from others*. And in the same he exhorteth the two Patriarches of *Alexandria*, and

S. Greg. doth not insinuate that Antichrist shalbe the Prince of Priests.

What title Iohn of Constantinople preaended.

Anti-

Antiochia not to giue that title to any, leaſt *they take that which is due from themſelues, when they offer that which is not due to others*; and both there and *ep.* 32. he ſuppoſeth, that the honour of other Biſhops ſhould be diminiſhed by this title. But moſt plainely *ep.* 38. *to Iohn of Conſtantinople* himſelf, telling him that he deſired to be called *the only Biſhop*; and that he endeauoured *to take their honour from all his brethren*. By all which, and many other ſuch ſpeaches it appeareth, that this was the pretence of *Iohn of Conſtantinople*, to be accounted the vniuerſall Biſhop in this ſenſe, that he ſhould likewiſe be the only Biſhop: which is alſo confirmed by that other inference of S. *Gregory*, that if there were an vniuerſall Biſhop admitted, in the manner that *Iohn of Conſtantinople* deſired, *if he fell from the faith, the whole Church ſhould likewiſe be in errour*. For which cauſe he ſheweth, how ſome Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* had beene hereticks, and inferreth, *Vniuerſa ergo Eccleſia, quod abſit, à ſtatu ſuo corruit, quando is qui appellatur Vniuerſalis, cadit: VVherefore the whole Church (which God forbid) looſeth her ſtate or ſtanding, when he that is called Vniuerſall, faileth.* Thus he writeth *ep.* 32. to the Emperour. And *ep.* 36. to the two Patriarches: *Cùm fortaſſe is in errore perit, qui Vniuerſalis dicitur, nullus iam Epiſcopus remanſiſſe in ſtatu veritatis inuenitur: VVhen perchance he periſheth in errour, who is called Vniuerſall, there is now no Biſhop found to haue remayned in the ſtate of truth.* By which wordes we alſo vnderſtand, that S. *Gregory* meaneth by *vniuerſa Eccleſia*, the whole Church, in the former place; to wit, all Biſhops, who repreſent the whole Church, as the Paſtors thereof. So that if *Iohn of Conſtantinople* might haue beene vniuerſall Biſhop in his ſenſe, that is the only Biſhop, ſo that there had beene no other true Biſhops but himſelf, it is euident, that all the Biſhops or Paſtours of the Church, and conſequently the whole Church, ſhould haue periſhed in him. This then is the title which *Iohn of Conſtantinople* pretended; and which S. *Gregory* and his predeceſſors refuſed, when it was offered them by the Councell of *Chalcedon*, as he teſtifieth in theſe epiſtles; though that Councell meant it not in this ſenſe: and therefore when the Pope denyed to accept thereof, it was not, becauſe he might not haue

See alſo l. 4. ep. 34. & l. 7. ep. 69.

Why the Pope refuſed the title of Vniuerſall Biſhop.

vsed it in the sense, which the Councell meant it, but for that the word being ambiguous and rather importing this sense of *Iohn of Constantinople*, he iudged it more conuenient to auoid all occasion of cauill, and scandall; and so retayning the authority, which the Councell would haue expressed by that name, and which he alway had, he most wisely, and piously refused the name or title it self of vniuersall Bishop. And thus M. *Downams* second ground is discouered to be most false. And by this also his third ground is ouerthrowne; for it is euident, that the Pope taketh not so much vpon him as *Iohn of Constantinople* did; who did not only chaleng to himself so much authority ouer Bishops, as the Pope doth, but would haue excluded all other Bishops, and Patriarches but himself, as hath beene shewed; and besides would also haue preferred himself before the Emperour, in a far different manner, then any Pope doth, as S. *Gregory* testifieth to the Emperour himself in these words: *Qui honori quoque Imperij vestri se per priuatum vocabulum superponit: who putteth himself aboue the honour of your Empire by this priuate name.* And the reason is manifest, for since in it self spirituall dignity is of more value then temporall; no doubt if it were also as complete, and vniuersall as that of the Empire, it were in all respects farre aboue it. Wherefore since that *Iohn of Constantinople* would haue beene acknowledged for the vniuersall Bishop in such sort, that there should haue beene no Bishop besides himself, he should haue beene as complete as the Emperour, who indeed was in such sort Emperour, as all other vnder him were only his officers, and substitutes; but no Emperours. Yea *Iohn of Constantinople* should haue exceeded the Emperour in this also, that he should haue beene the only Bishop throughout the whole world; whereas the Dominion of the Emperour admitted some lymites. By which also the pride of *Iohn of Constantinople* is much increased, since that he would haue equalled himself to Christ, who is the only vniuersall Bishop in this sense, and all other his seruants and instruments: but yet in such sort, that he hath appointed order and subordination among them. For so S. *Gregory* affirmeth

The Pope taketh not so much vpon him as Iohn of Constantinople did.

Gregor. l. 4. ep. 32.

What authority the Pope hath.

meth *ep.* 38. writing to *Iohn of Constantinople* himself. *Certè Petrus Apostolus primum membrum sanctæ & vniuersalis Ecclesiæ est. Certaynly Peter the Apostle is the first, and chiefest member of the holy, and vniuersall Church.* And *ep.* 32. to the Emperour: *Cunctis Euangelium scientibus liquet, quòd voce Dominica, Sancto & omnium Apostolorum Principi Apostolo, totius Ecclesiæ cura commissa est. It is manifest to all that know the Ghospell* (what will M. *Downam* say to this?) *that by our Lords voice the care of the whole Church was committed to the Holy, and Prince of all the Apostles, the Apostle Peter.* And presently he alleadgeth three places of scripture to this purpose, *Ioan. 21. Luc. 22. Matt. 16.* and then concludeth thus: *Ecce claues regni cælestis accipit, potestas ei ligãdi & soluẽdi tribuitur. Cura ei totius Ecclesiæ & principatus committitur, & tamen vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur. Behold he receiueth the keies of the Kingdome of heauen, the power of binding and loosing is giuen to him. The care and Princedome of the whole Church is committed to him, and yet he is not called the vniuersall Apostle.* Now then to conclude let M. *Downam* acknowledg that all this is due to the Pope, who is S. *Peters* successour as S. *Gregory* manifestly affirmeth of himself, and his Predecessours in these Epistles. Let him cõfesse, that the Pope *is the first, or chiefe member*, that is, the head of the holy and vniuersall Church, and that *the care and Princedome of the whole Church is committed vnto him*, and we will require no more at his handes. But if he will not goe thus farre, then it will be manifest to any discreet Reader, that he is oppsite, and contrary to S. *Gregory*; and that we attribute no more to the Pope, then S. *Gregory* did to himself, and nothing so much as *Iohn of Constãtinople* would haue vsurped. Wherfore S. *Gregories* inuectiue against him, maketh no more against the Popes now, then the speach of a lawfull Prince against rebels, preiudicateth the same Princes lawful successours. And thus much for this, since that now it is not time to enter into a new discourse, to shew, that al Emperours & Princes Christian, are subiect to the Pope, or how far this subiection extendeth; but it is sufficient, that if they belong to the Church they must of force be subiect to him, to whom our Sauiour hath committed the care, and Princedome of the whole Church, as S. *Gregory* affir-

Vide Andream Fri. de Eccles. l. 2. c. 12. where he expoundeth S. Gregory as I haue done.

M. Downam reiecteth the Fathers.

affirmeth, and proueth out of the scripture.

5. By that which hath beene said, it playnely appeareth that S. *Gregory* maketh nothing for, but altogeather against M. *Downam*, which he could not choose but see, and therefore thought good to reiect both him, and all other Fathers; affirming that their writings are the *cisternes of men*, and that since *they liued before the reuelation of Antichrist, except themselues had beene Prophets, they could not fully expound these prophesies*. And this he proueth also out of *Dan*. 12. *v* 9. *The wordes are closed vp, & sealed vntill the appointed time*. And *Augustine* saith: *Prophetias citius impleri, quàm intelligi: that prophecies are fulfilled sooner then vnderstood*. And *Irenæus*: *Omnes prophetiæ priusquam habeant efficacitatem, ænigmata sunt, & ambiguitas hominibus: All prophecies before they haue their complement, are vnto men darke and doubtfull speaches*. And therefore speaking of some part of the prophecies concerning Antichrist, he saith: *Certiùs & sine periculo est sustinere ad impletionem prophetiæ, quàm suspicari &c. It is more sure and safe to wayte for the fulfilling of the prophecy, then beforehand to deliuer vncertayne ghesses*. And finally he confirmeth this his assertion by the authority of *Bellarmine* himself, who confesseth that some opinions of the Fathers concerning Antichrist, are vncertayne coniectures, for which he citeth in the margent *cap*. 10. By which discourse of M. *Downams*, you may gather how clearely all the Fathers are for vs in this whole controuersy, since that he thinketh it his secureſt course, to discredit all their expositions in this sort: where first we are to note this new deuise of his, to reiect the Fathers expositions by reason of the great obscurity of the prophecies contained in the scripture; whereas hitherto all Protestants were wont to take the contrary course, and to affirme that the scripture is so easy that any one may vnderstand it without difficulty; especially in matters of this moment, and in pointes so necessary to be known as M. *Downam* acknowledgeth this to be. But this is the force of falsehood that she maketh her authors not only lyers, but open lyers also, by contradicting themselues. Well, at least M. *Downam* agreeth with himself and his fellowes in reiecting the Fathers, and calling their writinges the cistern

S. Iren. l. 4. c. 43. & l. 5. pag. antepenult.

See part. 2. c. 10.

Downam contradicteth himself, and his fellowes.

Vid. Bellarm. l. 3. de verbo Dei. cap. 2.

The Fathers good interpreters of prophesies.

sisternes of men. By which he would not only insinuate, that they were men, but also that their writinges are opposite to the scriptures, or at least not conformable to them; but let vs see how he proueth this? First, because they were no Prophets. But this is easely answered; that it only proueth, that they could not deliuer vs any new prophecyes, of which we speake not now, but of the interpretation of the old, for which it is sufficient, that they had the gift of interpreting, of which S. *Paul* speaketh 1. *Cor.* 12. and that they were such Pastors, and Doctours of the Church giuen vs by Christ, to perfect our faith, that we be not caryed about with euery wynd of doctrine, which wicked, crafty, and erring heretikes would seduce vs by, as the same Apostle testifieth, that God hath placed in his Church, *Ephes.* 4. And this M. *Downam* can neuer disprouethem to haue beene. Now the place of *Daniel* 12. which is his second proofe, doth rather signifie, that many thinges were hidden from *Daniel* himself, then that his prophecyes cannot be vnderstood by the Doctours of the Church; for the Angell answereth to *Daniels* question; *Domine mi, quid erit post hoc?* *My Lord what shall happen after these thinges* (which thou hast already told me?) To which the Angells answere was; *Vade Daniel, quia clausi sunt signati sermones vsq; ad præfinitum tempus: Goe thy wayes Daniel, because the speaches* (to wit which thou desirest and askest to know) *are closed vp, and sealed vntill the appointed tyme.* And this is conformable to other places of Scripture. But yet we may admit the sense, in which M. *Downam* taketh these wordes, so that we add the distinction which the Angell himself giueth a litle after: *neq; intelligent omnes impij, porrò docti intelligent*; all the wicked shall not vnderstand, but the learned shall; for I hope he will not be so wicked, as to deny, that the Fathers of whom we speake, were learned, and pious also. S. *Augustine*, and S. *Irenæus* may be vnderstood in the same manner of wicked men, or generally, and commonly, or (as M *Downam* himself saith) *fully and completely*, according to all circumstances: in which sort it is euident, that the second place of S. *Irenæus* is to be vnderstood; for he speaketh only of Antichrists name, signified by the num-

1. *Cor.* 12.

Ephes. 4.

Daniel 12.

ber 666. which the wordes immediately following those which M. *Downam* alledgeth, doe make most manifest; and therefore he did cut them of with an &c. and in his translation dissembled them more cunningly. But I will not stand any longer in this now, since S. *Irenæus* his wordes are alledged at large, and this matter fully discussed in the first part. Finally we may say, that these two Saints speake of particuler mens expositions, in which sort euen those of the Fathers themselues are doubtfull to vs, because we know very well, that they were not so infallibly assisted by the holy ghost, as the Canonicall writers were, so that none of them might, or did erre; but we only affirme that when they all agree, and consent without contradiction of any, it were the greatest rashnes, pride, and folly in the world, to goe against them all, or to affirme that they all erred, and misunderstood the Scripture. For this were to take away all meanes of vnderstanding it, and to bring all to *Academicall* vncertaintyes, at which the *Protestants* seeme to ayme. Now to the obiection out of *Bellarmine* it is manifest, that he only speaketh in that place, of two particuler Fathers, to wit *Rupert*, and *Bede*, which haue eyther of them his particuler exposition, and consequently, as *Bellarmine* well noteth, would not haue their opinions taken for any other then suspitions, and coniectures.

See part. 1. chap. 10.

6. The Fathers being thus reiected, *M. Downam* betaketh himself to the Scripture, which he will take vpon him to expound, because now the prophecies being fulfilled, as he supposeth, they are no longer obscure, but most plaine and easy; where first you see, he supposeth that, about which all our controuersy is; so that if we deny (as he may be sure we will) that Antichrist is already come, his whole exposition and argument falleth to the ground. But perhaps he will say, that the euident concord, and agreement betwixt the prophecies and the euent, will conuince vs. This the Reader must iudge when M. *Downam* hath proposed his arguments, and haue obiected my doubts. Now I must desire him to be attentiue, that he be not beguiled in taking *M. Downam* inter-

M. Downams repetitio principij.

interpretations, for the Scripture it selt. For no doubt it is very probable, that he will haue so much wit, as to make his expositions and the euent to agree. But this may be done, and yet the Scripture may be very obscure, and contrary to the euent: wherefore the Reader must compare only the Scripture and the euent, and see how they agree if *M. Downams* glosses be excluded, or at least, if he will needes bring in them also, it will not be sufficient, to haue them accepted, to shew that they are conformable to the euent, but he must proue, that they are conformable to the Scripture it self. Which how hard it will be for him to doe, may in some sort be gathered by this, that he cannot agree with others, who vsually alledge some places of *Daniel* to this purpose, and which I haue shewed at large to be necessarily vnderstood of Antichrist, as all but Infidells, yea euen the very Iewes themselues affirme. And the only reason, why *M. Downam* will not admit that sense, is, because he cannot apply those places to the Pope by any meanes possible, becausse the wordes are so cleare, that they can in no sort be wrested to that purpose. For if there had bene any probable deuise to be found, *M. Downams* spirit would haue bene as foreward, to haue applyed them to the Pope, as that of other heretikes his mates. Yet he will beare vs in hand, that this is not the cause, but for that they properly speake of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. But we haue shewed before, that the seauenth Chapter of *Daniel* cannot be vnderstood of *Antiochus* at all, as neyther the 12. and that the eleauenth hath also some things which are literally to be vnderstood of Antichrist; and finally that it is no hinderance, that some part of that Chapter is to be expounded of *Antiochus*, since that the same wordes may speake both of him & Antichrist. The other place which he omitteth, viz. *Apoc.* 9. because it is by some expounded of the Turkes, may be very fitly applyed to the Protestants themselues, as *Bellarmine* sheweth, but could by no colour be vnderstood of the Pope, though some of *M. Downams* crew out of the same spirit with which *M. Downam* is led, would needes haue it so. By which the Reader may see how much is to be attributed to *M. Downam* where he bringeth not good authority or proofes. Well we

See part. 1. *c.* 5. 7. 16. What places of Scripture treat of Antichrist

See part. 1. *c.* 21.

agree with him thus far, that *he is the grand Antichrist vnto whom the prophecies of holy Scripture describing him, doe v holy, and only agree.* And likewise we graunt that this Antichrist is spoken of 2. *Thessal.* 2. *Apoc.* 12. *&* 17.

7. Wherefore, all our controuersy wilbe, how fitly this description agreeth to the Pope. And now I will not stand with *M. Downam* about his method, by which he reduceth all to three heades, viz. to the tyme, and to the condition, and qualityes of Antichrist, but only tell him, and all Protestants with him, that it is in vayne for them *to beseech humbly the all-seeing spirit of God, to guide them into the truth,* so long as they proudly reiect all the meanes which God hath giuen them to this end, among which the authority of the Fathers is not the least.

THE

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

VVHEREIN

is maintayned, that the Place or Seat of Antichriſt ſhall not be Rome, but Ieruſalem.

TO proue that *Rome* is the Seat of Antichriſt, M. *Downam* reaſoneth thus: *Myſticall Babylon, ſpoken of in the 17. and 18. of the Apocalyps, is the Seat of Antichriſt. Rome is myſticall Babylon ſpoken of in thoſe places. Therfore, Rome is the Seat of Antichriſt.* To which Argumēt of his, I anſwere in forme by denying his *maior*, or propoſition, to wit, that *Myſticall Babylon ſpoken of in thoſe two Chapters, is the Seat of Antichriſt.* Wherefore let vs ſee how he can proue it. And firſt his diſtinction or explication of literall, and myſticall *Babylon* is needleſſe, for of this there is no queſtion, but that there are both, neyther could there be a myſticall *Babylon*, except there were alſo a literall. Yt is alſo true, that *Myſticall Babylon reſembleth the Aſſyrian Babylon in pride, idolatry, filthynes, and eſpecially in moſt cruell perſecution of the Church of God.* But all this agreeth very well to that, which we aſſigne to be myſticall *Babylon*, as ſhall afterward appeare. But it agreeth not to Antichriſts Seat, ſince as hath bene proued, he ſhall be no publicke Idolatour

Myſticall Babylon ſpoken of Apoc. 17. and 18. is not the Seat of Antichriſt

latour. And it is also false that mysticall *Babylon* is called *Sodom*, and *Aegipt*, *Apoc.* 11. 8. For it hath bene shewed, that *Ierusalem* it self is spoken of in that place, and the text it self is euident which addeth, that our Lord was crucified in that Citty, which cannot be vnderstood of any other Citty then *Ierusalem*, which indeed is the seat of Antichrist, as hath also bene proued. Wherfore when the *Church of Christ* is called by that name, there is something added, which playnely expresseth, that it is not the earthly, but the heaueuly *Ierusalem*, which is spoken of. And by mysticall *Babylon* is vnderstood the *Metropolis*, or chiefe Citty of the chiefest persecutors in the Apostles time. Neither can *M. Downã* bring vs any other but faithlesse heretiks that affirme mysticall *Babylõ* spoken of *Apoc.* 17. & 18. to be the seate of Antichrist. It is also false, that these two Chapters speake *of the Antichristian Citty, and Seate*. Neither do *Bellarmine*, & Doctour *Sanders* who are alleadged to this purpose, affirme any such thing; but only that Antichrist himself is spoken of *Apoc.* 17. as we haue, and shall see.

See part. 1. c. 14.

Apoc. 11. 8.

2. This is all that M. *Downam* bringeth in confirmation of his proposition, only he impugneth the opinion of the *Rhemists*, and their argument out of *Apoc.* 18. 21. *where the Angell throwing a great stone into the sea*, saith, *VVith such violence shall that great Citty Babylon be throwne, and be found no more. By this* (say they) *it seemeth cleare that the apostle meaneth not any one Citty, but the vniuersall company of the reprobate which shall perish in the day of Iudgment*. To this M. *Downam* answereth, first, that *the destruction of the vniuersall company of the reprobate in the day of Iudgment is described afterward*, Chap. 20. 11. as though the same destruction may not be spoken of, and foretold in diuers places. Secondly he obiecteth better, because *this destruction shalbe before the day of Iudgment*, since that there shalbe some *of the wicked suruiuing after this destruction to lament the same*, as is euident out of the same 18. *Chap.* v. 9. 10. 17. To which notwithstanding the *Rhemists* may very well answere, that this only proueth that mysticall *Babylon* shall suffer more calamityes then one. First in part, yea in the chiefest part which is spoken of in the beginning, and middest of that chap-

The Rhemists defended.

Some by Babylon vnderstãd the vniuersall company of the reprobate.

ter

ter; and after in the whole, which the angell expreſſed in that 18. v. And they may without any great difficulty anſwer to the reſt which M. *Downam* bringeth, that the. 7. hills are to be vnderſtood myſtically, that all Princes, and Nations are ſaid to belong to myſticall *Babylon* as to their Kingdome & Empyre, which hath cõtinually maintayned idolatry, and all wickednes: and finally, that when ſhe is ſaid to be lamented by ſome wicked, it is to be vnderſtood, that as yet ſhee was not wholy deſtroyed, but only in part. Now whereas M. *Downam* thinkes to haue gotten ſo great an aduantage of them, becauſe they alledg *Ierem.* 52. to proue, that the whole number of Gods enemyes is ſignified by *Babylon*, it is only a miſunderſtanding, or miſtaking of their words: for they meane not that the Prophet *Ieremy* is litterally to be ſo vnderſtood, but only myſtically, as they expreſly ſay: which is ſo manifeſt, as nothing can be more. So that we ſee no ſuch abſurdity in this aſſertion, as M. *Downam* would giue vs to vnderſtand; ſaying, that *this obiection is vnworthy the anſwering* and alledging it as the aſſertion only of the *Rhemiſts* and Papiſts: whereas he knew well inough that the *Rhemiſts* alledge as Authors of this opinion, S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Ambroſe*, *Arethas*, and other writers moſt commonly, and they themſelues ſuſpend theyr iudgment, alleadging alſo the opinion of *Tertullian*, and of S. *Hierome*, though they thinke the former more probable. But in this we will not ſtick with M. *Downam*, that *Babylon* in this place ſignifieth a particuler Citty; but that this Citty is the ſeat of Antichriſt, we conſtantly deny, knowing that M. *Downam* can neither alledg authority of Scripture, or Fathers for this poynt. And therefore his propoſition remayneth falſe, and conſequently his whole argument falleth to the ground.

Babylon may ſignify a particuler Citty.

3. Neyther do we deny, that in the opinion of thoſe, which take *Babylon* for a particuler Citty, *Rome* it ſelf is *Babylon*. Wherfore, when *M. Downam* goeth about to proue this, he doth but recite the proofes of thoſe Authors, which hould that opinion, among which *Bellarmine* is one, and I could name many other of his order, which affirme the

Babylon may ſignify Rome.

the same. But it is sufficient to mention *Ribera*, & *Vegas*, who haue written Commentaries vpon the whole *Apocalyps*. Wherefore I graunt, that the argument drawne from the Empyre which *Rome* had in S. *Iohns* time, and from the seauen hilles vpon which it then stood, is very probable, though not so euident, but that the Authors of the other opinion may solue them, as we haue seene, and shall presently agayne.

S. Iohns prophecyes most by seauens.

4. For as M. *Downam* alleadgeth, the *Rhemists say, that the Angell himself heere expoundeth these 7. Hilles, to be all one with the 7. Heades, and the 7. Kinges, and yet the Heretikes take them literally for 7. hilles, whereas the number of 7. is mysticall, signifying vniuersally all of that sort. And they might marke, that the Prophets visions are heere most by seauen, whether he talke of Heades, Hornes, Candlesticks, Churches, Kinges, Hills.* Where first M. *Downam* telleth them, that the hornes *are not seauen, but tenne*. But he is deceaued, for they speake of the hornes of the lambe, which are 7. and not of the hornes of the beast, which are 10. though of this number they also adde in the same place, that it is sometymes a mysticall number, as well as 7. Secondly, for answere to the *Rhemists*, M. *Downam* telleth vs, that, *we must know, that the beast whereon the VVhore of Babylon sitteth, is generally the Empyre of Rome, but more specially, Vrbs Roma, the Citty of Rome, which was the Imperiall, and is the Papall Seate*. But M. *Downam* must explicate this more clearely vnto vs before we shalbe able to see how it can be; and proue it also most firmely, before we belieue it. For in this sort the Whore of *Babylon*, and the beast with 7. heades, vpon which shee sitteth, should be all one; yea both of them should be the Citty, and Empyre of *Rome*, and so *Rome* should sit vpon it self. Wherefore since they cannot both be the Citty of *Rome*, we only graunt, that the Whore of *Babylon* in whose forehead this name is written, signifieth the Citty, and Empire of *Rome*, and that the beast signifieh something else, as we shall afterward see. Wherefore we only admit M. *Downams Notandum* thus farre, that *Babylon* doth not only signify the Citty, but also the Empyre of *Rome*. But whether the 7. Heades may be applyed to the *Rome*

The whore of Babylon and not the beast vpon which she sitteth doth signify the Citty, and Empire of Rome,

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Empyre, or no, we shall see afterward. Now we are only to see whether the 7. hills be necessarily to be applyed to the Citty of *Rome* which the *Rhemists* deny. Against whom *Bellarmynes* authority proueth nothing, since he probably holdeth the contrary opinion to them; & therfore rather thinketh, that the 7. hills & the 7. kinges signify diuers thinges, then the same. But yet he is not so peremptory, as M. *Downam*, absolutly to deny, that it is any way probable, that they signify the same, as the *Rhemists*, and they which hold their opinion affirme. Wherefore let vs see, how M. *Downam*, that will by no meanes admit it as probable, can confute them. *First*, saith he, *their interpretation is inconuenient: For heades doe more fitly resemble Kings, which are the heades of the body politick, then hills doe.* But to this the *Rhemists* will easely answer, that the heades are not only explicated by the hills, but also by the Kinges, and kinges and hills togeather doe more fitly, or fully explayne the meaning of this propheſy, then only heades by themselues. Secondly, M. *Downam* telleth them, that theyr interpretation *is false, for if the hills be Kinges, then the Citty which is the woman v.* 18. *sitteth vpon the seauen Kinges, for she sitteth on the hills v.* 9. But here the *Rhemists* will tell him, that he forgetteth, what he impugneth. For they affirme that the woman is not a Citty, but the vniuersality of the wicked, which may very well be said to sitt vpon the Kinges, which beare it vp, and mayntayne it. And withall they will put him in mynd of a contradiction, for if the woman sitteth vppon the 7. hills, and be a Citty, then the beast, vpon which she also sitteth, cannot be the same Citty, as M. *Downam* affirmed a litle before. Thirdly, M. *Downam* obiecteth against them, *that this interpretation of 7. heades, that they be 7. hilles, is not any interpretation at all, except we vnderstand hills properly*. But this they may easely deny, by telling him, that the heades are said not only to be Kinges, but also hills, because they signify great Kinges, for if they had only been interpreted to be Kings, it had been doubtfull, whether they should haue beene great or little. The rest which M. *Downam* bringeth doth only shew, that he is not of the *Rhemists* mynd concerning the number of seauen,

The 7. hils and the 7. Kinges may be probably said to be all one.

Downam forgetteth what he impugneth, and contradicteth himself.

but proueth nothing, since that the 7. candlestickes, and 7. Churches may signify all in that time, and likewise the 7. hills being taken for Kinges, as also the 7. hornes of the lamb which perhaps M. *Downam* himself will rather take for all the spirits or angells of God in generall, then for only seauen. And finally the same may be said of the 7. Kinges; though I would haue M. *Downam* to remember, that I defend this opinion in such sort to be probable, that I thinke the other which both *Bellarmine* and himself holdeth to be more probable, so farre as concerneth the number of 7. to be taken literally, as also the hills. Wherfore thus farre we agree in our opinion, and only differ in the reiecting that of the *Rhemists*, and others. For in this M. *Downam* is too peremptory; as also in affirming, that these heades signify the 7. regiments of the Empyre, or people of *Rome*, as we shall see afterward; but most of all in making the Pope to be the seauenth head, and the Emperour that now is the eight, in which his folly is exceeding ridiculous, as may be gathered by that which I haue heretofore briefely touched, and shall after more fully explicate.

The 7. hills, and Kings may be taken indefinitely and spiritually but it is more probable that they are to be vnderstood literally, & definitly.

See part. 1. c. 2. n. 2.

5. But now let vs go on in admitting his proofes, that by *Babylon Rome* is meant; for since I admit his conclusion, it were needelesse to examine his proofes. Wherefore be it so, that the Fathers, which M. *Downam* bringeth, held this opinion, & that they had reason for this their assertion, which both we affirme.

6. Let it be also true that many Catholikes affirme the same and the *Rhemists* themselues thinke yt probable; for all this I willingly grant, and ioyne with them in their assertion, as *Bellarmine* also doth. But why doth not M. Downam grant vs as much of S. *Peter*, that he speaketh also of *Rome* 1. *Pet.* 5. and why doth he affirme, that *there can no sufficient reason be giuen, why the Apostle, if he had meant Rome, should not rather haue vsed the name of* Rome, *then of* Babylon had not *S. Peter* all the reasons to name it so, that S. *Iohn* had? And besides had he not this particuler reason, that it was more for his safety, and of those who were with him if his letter had beene intercepted? It is well seene, that

Why S. Peter calleth Rome Babylon.

M.

M. *Downam* hath not liued in persecution, since he cannot light on a reason, which is so euident to vs that are persecuted; because we are often driuen by necessity to doe the like. Thus I might goe forward, since that I admit as much as M. *Downam* here would proue. But once agayne I must defend the *Rhemists*, who are taxed for an ouersight; as though they at *vnawares* confessed, that *Rome* is also spoken of *Apoc.* 11. and tearmed spiritually *Sodom*, and *Aegipt*; because they bring this *reason*, why *Rome* may be called *Babylon*; viz. *because by the authority of the Roman Empyre, Christ was put to death first*. But M. *Downam* may see them note in that eleuenth Chapter, that *Ierusalem* is meant there, and consequently that Antichrists chiefe raigne shalbe there, and the wordes themselues of the Scripture are plaine, which speak of the streetes of that Citty, where our Lord was crucified; which can in no sort be vnderstood of the Citty of *Rome*, as is manifest; though it be also true, that *by the authority of the old Roman Empyre, Christ was put to death first, and afterward the two chiefe Apostles, and the Popes their successours, and infinite Catholick men throughout the world by lesser Kinges, which then were subiect to Rome*. All which are the wordes of the *Rhemists*, and theyr reason why old *Rome* was called *Babylon*; which is as far different from that which *S. Iohn* saith *Apoc.* 11. as the authority of a generall persecutor, is from one particuler place of his persecution. VVherefore there is no likelyhood that the *Rhemists* applyed this prophesy *Apoc.* 11. to *Rome* by giuing that reason, why *Rome* is called *Babylon*. M. *Downam* taketh hold of their wordes more probably, when they say; *that it may well be, that the great Antichrist shall haue his seat in Rome*. For this indeed can hardly stand with the destructiō of *Rome* by the ten Kinges, and the beast which is described *Apoc.* 17. only they may say for themselues, that these Kinges, and beast shall build it againe, and so it shalbe Antichrists seat. But this hath no ground in the Scripture, but rather seemeth to be flatly against it, if by Babylon we vnderstād *Rome*. And therfore it hath very litle probability, if it hath any at all, that Antichrist shall haue his seat at *Rome*; which appeareth also by those proofes which *Bellarmine* vsed to shew, that *Ierusalē* shalbe the seate of Antichrist,

Not Rome but Ierusalem is called Sodom and Aegypt. *Apoc.* 11.

Yt is not probable that Rome shalbe the seat of Antichrist

See part. 1. *c.* 13.

by which M. Downam may see, what litle reason he hath to say, that *we cannot deny with any shew of reason, that mysticall Babylon*, of which S. *Iohn* speaketh *is the seat of Antichrist*.

7. Wherefore since he returneth to put his argument in forme, I returne also to deny his *Maior*, or proposition, viz. *That Mysticall Babylon is the seat of Antichrist*; which now he only proueth by the authority of the *Rhemists*; which in this point as I haue shewed, hath very litle probability, and so far as it hath any, it maketh nothing for M. *Downam*, since they speake not only of a tyme, which is yet to come, but also distinguish of *Rome* in that tyme, as S. *Peter* 1. *Pet.* 5. distinguished of *Babylon* in his tyme. So that the Church in *Babylon* was not *Babylon* it self, as also the Church in the whole world is not the world it self, as appeareth by our Sauiours prayer for his Church, from which he excludeth the world. So say the *Rhemists* in mysticall *Babylon* in Antichrists tyme: We must distinguish Antichrist and his followers, which belong properly to *Babylon*; and the Church which shalbe in the same place, and yet not belong to *Babylon*. Which doctrine of theirs thus explicated, is against the Protestants, who will haue mysticall *Babylon* chiefly to be vnderstood of the Church of Christ. But as I haue said this explication for Antichrists tyme is needeles, since that mysticall *Babylon*, whereof S. *Iohn* speaketh is not Antichrists seat, but only old *Rome* as it was heathen, and not as it was or is Christian. Which distinction M. *Downam* will now also impugne, and explicate his *minor*, or assumption to be taken by him in this sense, that not Heathen, but Christian *Rome* is mysticall *Babylon*. Wherefore I deny his *minor* also, being thus explicated, and the conclusion must neede be well proued, that is inferred out of two false propositions. Likewise I deny that consequence which he maketh his first proofe of the *minor*; that if *Rome* be *Babylon*, it is also *the seat of Antichrist*. For I see not, how this followeth, except we would also graunt, that *Babylon* is the seat of Antichrist, which hitherto I haue denyed, and consequently his *Dilemma* is not worth two chips. For we deny that *Rome* is to be called the seat of Antichrist at all, and consequently neyther when it was heathenish, nor afterward. And in the

The Rhemists fauour not Downam.

Ioan. 17.

the *Rhemiſts* opinion M. *Downam* muſt make 3. members. 1. Of heathenish *Rome*. 2. Of Chriſtian *Rome*. 3. Of Antichriſtian *Rome*; which third member muſt not be, till this *Rome* be wholy deſtroyed, and the builders, and gouernours of the new be no Chriſtians, but moſt oppoſite enemyes to Chriſt. So they. But as I haue ſayd, this hath very litle probability, and therfore hereafter I will altogeather ſuppoſe the contrary, vnleſſe I ſee M. *Downam* bring ſome euident proſe to conuince, that *Rome*, or myſticall *Babylon* muſt of force in one tyme or other be the ſeate of Antichriſt.

The Rhemiſts diſtinguiſh Rome into 3. different ſtates.

8. Wherfore now let vs ſee, how he goeth forward to proue his *minor*, that chriſtened, and not heathen *Rome* is by *S. Iohn* named *Babylon*. Secondly, he ſaith: that *heathiſh Rome dealt not by whorish ſleights, and allurements, but by martiall policy, and power: neither had profeſſed her ſelf to be the Church, and ſpouſe of Chriſt, and therfore could not ſo fitly be called an harlot, whereby is ſignified an adulterous, and Apoſtaticall ſtate*. But what meaneth M. *Downam* by this? Will he deny, that *Rome* vſed policy, as well as power to enlarge, and mayntayne her dominions? Or what is it to the purpoſe, whether ſhe did or no? Can he deny, that heathen *Rome* was much giuen to idolatry? Or that idolatry is not rightly called Whorrome, fornication, or adultery? And who ſeeth not that harlots are not only marryed women, but any whoſoeuer expoſe themſelues to filthy luſt, as *Rome* did to idolatry? And though ſhe had not then beene Chriſtian, yet ſhe wanted not other obligations of fidelity to God. Beſides (ſaith M. *Downam*) *heathnish Rome for the moſt part permitted to euery country their owne Religion; and was ſo far from inforcing her Religion vpon other Nations ſubiect vnto her, that as in her was erected the* Pantheon *honour of all the Gods, ſo ſhe admitted the idols, Religions, and ſuperſtions almoſt of all other countryes &c*. But M. *Downam* might haue obſerued, that though *Rome* permitted euery nation to commit idolatry after their owne faſhion, yet ſhe inforced them all to idolatry, & withheld them from acknowledging, and imbracing the true God, & Chriſt, in which reſpect ſhe is ſaid to haue made all the *Kinges of the earth drunk with the wyne of her proſtitution*; by which word ſeemeth to be

Not Chriſtian but heathen Rome is Babylon.

Why Rome is compared to an harlot.

insinuated her so frequent, and vniuersall idolatry with the idolls of all Nations. And at leastwise this maketh not heathen *Rome* any iot the lesse giuen to idolatry, or a spirituall harlot, no more then the hauing many louers argueth her who hath them, to be euer the honester woman. That which he addeth of Christian *Rome*, and confirmeth with the testimony of two Poets, is indeed a poeticall fiction, or exaggeration; for though it be true, that there wanteth not wickednes in that Citty, yet is there also as great holynes of life, as in any other place of the world; to omit the holy monuments of the Apostles, and other Saynts. And that which maketh most to our purpose is, that there sitteth the lawfull successor of *S. Peter*, whose authority is most sacred, how prophane soeuer the persons were, which were endued therwith. But ere *M. Downam* maketh vs believe this, he must proue it better, then by his owne assertion: for we haue iust cause to take exceptions at his verdict, since he so plainly hath descryed himself to be a most spiteful enemy to the Pope, & al those wch hold with him.

Rome an holy Citty.

9. *M. Downams* third proofe, that *S. Iohn* by *Babylon* meat not heathen *Rome* which openly persecuted the Saints, is, because *he speaketh of a mystery*, and *v. 6. he meruaileth to see the VVhore of Babylons idolatry and cruelty against the Saintes.* For the idolatry, and cruelty of ould *Rome* was not strange to *S. Iohn*. But to this the answere is easy. For *S. Iohn* speaketh not of any other mystery, but of mysticall *Babylon*, which is signifyed by that word *Mystery*; and *Rome* was not so called, because her persecution was mysticall, but because she was not litterally *Babylon*, but only imitated that Citty in the persecution of Gods people, which was to be *Babylon* mystically. Now Saint *Iohns* admiration was not only at the idolatry or cruelty of *Rome*, but at the whole vision, which seemed to him exceeding strange, and therefore the Angell to take away this his admiration, explicated the whole vision vnto him, scarse euer touching the idolatry or cruelty of *Rome*, but other particulers, at which *S. Iohn* marueiled. The fourth proofe *M. Downam* taketh out of the 17. *Chapter*, from the 8. *verse*. And first he supposeth that the beast described *cap.* 17. may signify the *Roman*

What S. Iohn meaneth by the word Mysterie

Why S. Iohn marueiled.

The beast *Apoc.* 17. cannot signify the Roman state.

state

state in generall, as it is opposed to Christ, but especially as it is renewed, and as it were reuiued by the Pope. But I deny that the *Roman* state is signified at all by the beast, but only by the woman, which sitteth vpon the beast, and vpon the 7. heads, as they signify 7. hils. For how can this woman, and the beast be all one, as *M. Downam* maketh them, since that he affirmeth, that *Rome*, and the *Roman* state is also the Whore of *Babylon*? And the arguments which *M. Downam* bringeth to proue, that the beast signifieth *Rome* reuiued by the Pope, do manifestly conuince the contrary. For in what sense could *S. Iohn*, or the Angell say, that the *Roman* state or Empyre had bene, but was not at that tyme? Did it euer flourish more, then at that tyme? Yea did not *S. Iohn* himself in *M. Downams* exposition affirme, that the sixt head, that is the *Roman* Empyre, was then? And *M. Downam* is exceeding absurd, and ridiculous, to referre that (*non est*) of *S. Iohn* to the tyme of *Augustulus*, from whom vnto *Charlemaine*, he saith, that the West Empyre lay voyd the space of 325. yeares, viz. from the yeare 475. vnto the yeare 800. for this is both false, and impertinent; false, for that the Emperour of the East was also Emperour of the West all this tyme, and was by all acknowledged to be the *Roman* Emperour. And though the *Gothes* and *Lombards* possessed a great part of *Italy*: yet the Emperour had his part also, especially after the expulsion of the *Gothes*. And it is manifest, that the diuision of the East, and West Empyre may stand with one Emperour of them both, as *M. Downam* cannot choose but see in so many Emperours as reigned in both, who though they had their seate only in one of them, yet neyther could be said to lye voyd. Wherfore the west Empyre began not to be without an Emperour, vntill *Leo Isauricus* falling into heresy, was depriued therof by Pope *Gregory* the second; from whom vntill *Leo* the third, that Empyre indeed lay voyd. And therfore *Leo* might iustly create *Charles* the Great as he did. But though the VVest Empyre had bene voyd all those 325. yeares, yet were it altogeather impertinent in this place. For now the Angell and *S. Iohn* manifestly speake of the tyme then present, affirming, that the beast had bene before, but was not then. *Fuit* (saith the Angell)

Downs ridiculous absurdity.

How long the West Empyre lay voyd.

gell) *& non est*, was, and is not. Wheras of the *Roman* Empyre, especially vnder Emperours, the contrary might rather haue bene said in *S. Iohns* tyme, *Non fuit, & est*, it was not, but is now, because it neuer florished more then at that time, and had not done so long, as indeed *S. Iohn* affirmeth a little before in those wordes: *Vnus est*, that is, the *Roman* Emperour is now, as *M. Downam* himselfe must confesse, as I haue said. And I would fayne know, by what figure *M. Downam* maketh the Angell to speake in the time of *Augustulus*, so many yeares after *S. Iohns* dayes? For if he could bring this well about, his exposition might carry some shew; but since he can by no meanes make this his deuise probable, he may be ashamed of his owne folly. And the indifferent Reader may discouer how violently, & abs surdly Protestants draw and wrest Scripture to their fond imaginations, which notwithstanding they would haue vs thinke to be the word of God it selfe. And by this which hath bene said it is also playne, that the beast, of which *S. Iohn* speaketh, is not the *Roman* Empyre eyther Heathen, or Christian, but the Diuell, who indeed had bene, & borne great sway in the world vntill our Sauiours comming, but was then cast forth, and so remayned in *S. Iohns* tyme. But yet shall, in the end of the world about Antichrists tyme come vp out of the bottomlesse depth, after which he shall go into eternall destruction, and neuer be let loose any more. Him *S. Iohn* calleth the eight ruler, or King, and not the eight head, as *M. Downam* foolishly affirmeth, making this beast to haue 8. heads, and to be one of them himselfe, he is also said to be *of the seauen*, and not *one of the seauen*, as *M. Downam* auoucheth as confidently, as if the Scripture it selfe had said so. For he and his fellowes make no difference betwixt the Scripture it selfe, and their fond glosses, which notwithstanding very often corrupt the text, as being altogether against it, as now *M. Downams* is. For the Diuell is said to be of the 7. heads, not for that he is any one of them, but for that he belongeth to them all, and concurreth with them all, and yet is distinct from them all, and therfore maketh the number of 8. so that he is said to be of the 7. the materiall beast may be sayd to be of his 7. heads, a

How violently Protestats wrest the scripture.

The beast Apoc. 17. signifieth the Diuell.

Downam corrupteth the scripture.

How he is of the 7.

which

which receyue their force and vigour from him, and whatſoeuer any of them doth, may fitly be attributed to the beaſt himſelf; for ſo likewiſe thoſe 7. rulers of which *S. Iohn* ſpeaketh were moued, and incited to all wickednes by the Diuell, and all their cruell, and cuill actions may iuſtly be alſo attributed to him. And thus *M. Downams* fourth reaſon appeareth plainely to be both fooliſh and impertinent.

10. But yet you ſhall ſee him play the foole more groſly. For in his fifth reaſon, he will haue this beaſt to be no more the *Roman* Empyre, but the Pope himſelf, which is a plaine contradiction, as you ſee; but you muſt beare with him, for all his deſire is to ſay ſomething againſt the Pope, which he cannot doe without ſuch abſurdities. But we haue now ſeene, that the beaſt is neither of them, but the Diuell; wherefore this might ſuffice for anſwere to this fifth proofe, ſince it is wholy grounded vpon this falſe principle. Yet let vs examine the reſt. He addeth, *that the* 10. *Kynges, or* 10. *Kinges*, of which the Angell ſpeaketh, *are the thiefe gouernours of the* 10. *Prouinces*, who togeather with the Pope obtayned ſouereigne authority, *when the Empyre was deuyded, but eſpecially when the Emperour of the Eaſt was bereaued of his title in Italy and Rome.* But firſt, why doth not *M. Downam* name vs theſe 10. Prouinces of the weſterne Empyre? He told vs before, that the whole *Roman* Empyre, which includeth both Eaſt, and Weſt, *was deuided into* 10. *Prouinces in the Apoſtles tyme*, but how the weſterne Empyre alone came to haue ſo many, he ſhould now explicate, if he will haue vs beliewe him. Beſides we ſee not, what ſouereignty any got by the decay of the Empyre in the tyme of *Auguſtulus*, but only *Odoacer* and thoſe which ſucceeded him, and afterward the *Lombardes*. For the Pope, and all other Princes were as much, or more oppreſſed by theſe, as they had byn before by the Emperours; and when they were free from theſe, they acknowledged the Emperour of the Eaſt vntill *Leo Iſauricus* his tyme, from whome indeed Pope *Gregory* the 3. tooke that part of *Italy*, which obeyed him. But *M. Downam* cannot ſhew vs out of any authenticall hiſtory, that he got any thing thereby himſelf, but rather loſt by the tyranny

Downam contradicteth himſelf.

Of what 10. Kings the Angell ſpeaketh *Apoc* 17.

ranny of the Kinges of the *Lombards*. And in this state things continued all the life of that Emperour, and of his sonne *Constantinus Copronymus*; the Popes still expecting theyr recouery from nerely. But afterward seeing that Empyre to decay also, and to be scarce able to defend it self, and much lesse to redresse, and restore this other of the West, they were inforced to create King *Charles* Emperour, with approbation of the whole world, euen of the East Empyre it self, and with the happy successe, which all Christendome hath enioyed to our dayes; only the *Lombards*, and our Protestiants, who will needes band themselues with the worst sort of people in all ages, repyning threat Neither did the Pope take the west Empyre to himself, or deuide it among ten Princes; but conferred it wholy vpon *Charles* the Great, who togeather with his Father King *Pipin*, best deserued that dignity in those dayes; hauing among other notable, and worthy actes of theyrs, restored such territoryes to the Church of *Rome* as the wicked *Lombardes* had iniuriously taken from it, and withall added more out of their owne possessions. Wherefore since this whole narration of M. *Downam* is false, the argument must needes be most foolish, which inferreth, that S. *Iohn* calleth Christian *Rome Babylon*, because the ten Kinges which he mentioneth, were such as you haue heard. But yet there remayneth another absurditie no lesse then this; which is to imagine that *S. Iohn* calleth *Rome, Babylon*, rather in respect of the time when the Empyre and Citty are to be dissolued, then because it was so in his tyme when it persecuted the Christians: for to omit the rest this is to prefer an vncertainty before a certainty; for certaine it is, that *Rome* deserued very well to be called *Babylon* in *S. Iohns* tyme, but in what disposition it wilbe at the end, when it shall be destroyed is altogeather doubtfull. And out of S. *Iohn* it rather seemeth probable, that it shalbe in good case, then otherwise, since that the 10. Kinges which shall destroy it, shalbe enemies to Christ, and friends to the Diuell and Antichrist, as we shall presently see.

The west Empyre was not deuided among 10. Princes.

Rome called Babylon in respect of the tyme wherein S. Iohn liued.

11. For we haue already shewed, that the beast, to which these 10. hornes belong, is the Diuell, with whom the

they ſhall ioyne againſt Chriſt, as S *Iohn* expreſſely affirmeth, and that not *for a tyme only*, as M. *Downam* fondly imagineth, but *till the wordes of God be cõſummate*, as *S. Iohn* teſtifyeth, which no doubt he particulerly meaneth of the deſtruction of the *Roman* Empyre, and Citty, of which he ſpake immediatly before: and as it were to exclude M. *Downams* deuiſe, was not content to haue ſaid before, that theſe ten hornes which he ſaw in the beaſt, *ſhould giue their power to the beaſt*; but after hauing ſhewed how theſe ſhould fight with the lamb, and deſtroy *Rome*, he repeateth in a manner the ſame words againe; ſhewing withall, that though they preuaile againſt *Rome*, yet that is no argument, that they ſhall alſo finally peruaile againſt the lambe, ſince that the reaſon why they peruaile againſt *Rome*, is becauſe God out of his iuſt iudgments hath decreed, that it ſhould be deſtroyed, & out of his inſcrutable wiſdome thought beſt to permit it to be done by theſe his enemyes; for this is one of the chiefeſt effects of the looſing of this infernall beaſt the Diuell, to permit theſe 10. Kinges his chiefeſt inſtruments next to Antichriſt himſelf thus to afflict the chiefe bulwarke, and fortreſſe of Gods Church. Yt were ſuperfluous to proſecute M. *Downams* blaſphemous folly, in tearming the Pope to be the beaſt, and the Princes which haue ioyned with him *in holy leagues*, principally againſt the Turkes, and other infidells and enemyes of Chriſt, to be the 10. Kinges, which S. *Iohn* affirmeth to fight with the lamb. For beſides that it is againſt the Scripture, as hath ben ſhewed, what Chriſtian hart can tollerate ſuch horrible ſaunders, againſt their moſt worthy aunceſtors, and theyr moſt Chriſtian, and heroycall attempts? Wherefore me thinkes that this motiue alone might be ſufficient for all Proteſtant Princes to ſee their errours; ſince that they muſt not only oppoſe themſelues to all theyr predeceſſours, ca mniating, and condemning their holy wars, and famous victoryes; but alſo giue their power to the Diuell himſelf impugning *Rome*, which out of doubt by *S. Iohns*, and the Angels teſtimony, is to be performed by the Diuell, & his inſtruments.

6. The 10. Kinges ſhall ioyne with the Diuell againſt Chriſt vntill the end, and againſt Rome.

Why theſe 10. Kinges preuaile againſt Rome.

Downãs blaſphemous folly againſt Chriſtian Princes.

The danger of Proteſtãt Princes.

12. M. *Downams* 7. argument is, that ſince S *Iohn*

treateth of *Rome*, vntill the finall *destruction therof*, and calleth it alway *Babylon*; it must of necessity be *Babylon*, when it is destroyed; which cannot be said to haue bene *while it was heathnish*. But to this the answere is easy that *S. Iohn* denominateth *Rome Babylon*, because it deserued to be called so in his tyme, and consequently to auoid confusion: and that he might be vnderstood, only vseth that name; as *S. Paul* likewyse calleth the temple in which Antichrist shall sitt, the temple of God, because it was so in his tyme, though afterward it ceased to be so; as also *Rome* hath ceased to be *Babylon*, and yet by *S. Iohn* is so called, because it was so in his tyme. I know that some Catholickes thinke that *Rome* shall reuolt from Christ, and his Vicar the Pope, and returne to Idolatry, before it be destroyed; in whose opinion *M. Downams* argument is easily solued: but there is no necessity to runne to that opinion, and I take the contrary to be much more probable. His eight proofe supposeth a manifest vntruth, viz. that *S. Iohn* speaketh of *Rome*, *as it shall be in Antichrists tyme*. For it is most certaine, as hath bene proued els where, that Antichrist shall not come, till after this destruction of *Rome*, wherof S. *Iohn* speaketh. Lastly *M. Downam* argueth from the authority of *S. Hierome*, and other Fathers, who call *Rome Babylon*, because (saith he) *it should be the seat of Antichrist*. But he might haue done well to haue shewed vs, where *S. Hierome* or any other of the Fathers giueth this reason. They call *Rome Babylon* indeed, but they speake most manifestly of *heathen Rome*, as also *S. Iohn* doth, as *Bellarmine* conuinceth of *S. Hierome*, & *Tertullian* in particular.

7. Why S. *Iohn* calleth Rome Babylon.

8. Antichrist shall not come till Rome be destroyed *See part. 2. cap. 5.*

9. *See part 1. c. 13. n. 8.*

9. These then are *M. Downams* direct argument to proue, that *Babylon* signifieth *Rome* Christian, and not heathen. Now he will argue from another principle, supposing first, that *Rome* in some tyme, or other shalbe the seate of Antichrist: But he might well haue foreseene that this his supposition, is the mayne question, & that we alway deny, that *Rome*, shall at any tyme, or in any state be the seate of Antichrist; wherefore we shall not need to go any further in this discourse, but that I haue resolued for this once not to leaue any thing, which *M. Downam* bringeth, without due examination: wherefore I deny the

Downam supposeth the mayne question.

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principle alſo, which he aſſumeth, viz. *that Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the Church of God*. And to the 2. *Theſſal.* 2. where S. *Paul* ſaith, that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, I anſwere that *S. Paul* meaneth the Temple of *Hieruſalem* which ſhalbe built agayne in the end of the world, as hath bene proued, and all M. *Downams* arguments to the contrary fully anſwered, and confuted; except he will vrge *Iulians* fact and the miraculous reprouing thereof: but theſe only proue, that the Temple and Citty were not to be reedified then, nor till the end of the world, which no man denyeth. Now whereas he addeth, *that it ſeemeth to haue beene the iudgment of Cyril, and many others in the Primitiue Church, that the Temple ſhould neuer be reedifyed*, and that *Hierome* ſaith, *that the opinion, which is for the reſtoring of the Temple is a Iewiſh fable*; theſe are not the firſt vntruths that M. *Downam* hath told, God graunt they may be the laſt.

Antichriſt ſhal not ſit in the Church of God. *See part. 3. c. 13.*

14. How S. *Paul* called the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, the Temple of God, *Bellarmyne* hath ſufficiently explicated, viz. becauſe it was ſo in his tyme, by which M. *Downams* fraud is ſufficiently detected; for he abſolutely affirmeth, that in *Bellarmynes iudgement materiall buildings are not called the Temple of God in the new Teſtament*: whereas he only affirmeth, that in the new Teſtament the churches of the chriſtians, are neuer vnderſtood, by the temple of God; *ſed perpetuò* (ſaith he) *templum Hieroſolymitanum*, but alway the temple of *Ieruſalem*. Is not this moſt groſſely to abuſe, and deceiue the Reader? Now what is it to the purpoſe, to tell vs out of S. *Auguſtine lib. 10. de ciuit. Dei, cap. 19.* that *the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the Temple of any idoll, or Diuell*? Doth not *Bellarmine* manifeſtly conuince, that in S. *Pauls* tyme the temple of *Hieruſalem* belonged to the true God? yea but M. *Downam* telleth vs, that *in the writtinges of the Apoſtles, materiall temples are not called the Temples of God, but the congregations of Gods people are the Temples of God*. Where you ſee, he coarcteth himſelf into a more narrow compaſſe; for he could not chooſe but know, that in the Goſpells, and actes of the Apoſtles, the materiall temple of *Hieruſalem* is called the Temple of God, as *Bellarmyne* affirmeth, and therefore he muſt of force alſo graunt, that in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, and the Apocalyps (which only he

See part. 1. c. 13. Why the Téple of Hieruſalé is by S. Paul called the Temple of God.

M. Downams fraud in miſſleading Bellarmine.

tearmeth the writinges of the Apostles) it were no absurdity, though it were so called; as by the iudgments of the Fathers it is, 2. *Thessal.* 2. Against whose exposition it maketh nothing at all, that in other places, the same word is spiritually to be vnderstood; for this only proueth that it may haue two senses, which the Fathers knew very well, and therefore imbrace them both in seuerall places; and in this of 2. *Thessal.* 2. all which think Antichrist himself to be spoken of, agree, that by the Temple of God, is meant a materiall Temple, and they only differ in their explication, what materiall Temple it shall be; the most affirming, that it shall be the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and only one or two thinking rather, that the Apostle meant the materiall Churches of the Christians, which Antichrist should peruert to his owne worship. But none of them euer imagined that it was to be a spirituall Temple, or a spirituall sitting, as M. *Downam* most fondly doth, only out of malice to the Pope, which sufficiently appeareth by his foolish argument. For he will needes proue, that the Apostle speaketh of a spirituall sitting, because it is said, *That he shall sit in the Temple of God, as God, who doth not sit after a corporall manner*. For first it is false, that God being man doth not sit after a corporall manner. And now there is no doubt but that the Apostle speaketh of a man, who shall make himself God; and therefore he may very well speake of a corporall sitting of this man; who also by this meanes shall shew himself to be God; because he will haue all that adoration, which is due to God, and Christ, giuen vnto himself. Let M. *Downam* imagine the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and Antichrist sitting vpon the Propitiatory in the *Sancta Sanctorum*, betwixt the two Cherubims, & he wil haue no more difficulty in apprehending, how he is said to sit in the Temple of God as God, and how by that material sitting, he sheweth himself to be God. By which he will also see the difference betwixt his sitting, and that of the Pope, and other Bishops; for this denoteth humility, and importeth not so much a raigning, which is proper to Princes; but that other sheweth the greatest pryde that possibly can be imagined, and farre surpasseth the raigne, and dominion of any king or Empe-

All the Fathers agree against M. Downam, that S Paul speaketh of a materiall Temple.

How Antichrist shall sit as God.

The sitting of the Pope and Bishops opposit to that of Antichrist

Emperour whatſoeuer. And me thinkes M. *Downam* ſhould ſee, that this ſpirituall ſitting agreeth to all the holy Biſhops, that euer were, and euen to his good Lord of *Canterbury* alſo, whom perhaps he reſpecteth more then them all, and therefore will not doe him ſo much iniury, as to accuſe him to ſit in *England*, or in the new Engliſh Church in the ſame manner, that Antichriſt is ſaid by the Apoſtle, to ſit in the Temple of God.

15. The teſtimonyes of the ancient Fathers which M. *Downam* bringeth, are alleadged, and anſwered by *Bellarmine*, who ſhewed that none of the Fathers, but only *Oecumenius* denieth, that Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the Temple of *Ieruſalem*; for S. *Auguſtine* and S. *Hierome* who inclyne moſt to the other opinion, doe expreſſely mention, that ſome vnderſtand the Temple of *Ieruſalem*, which they in no wiſe condemne, but only ſeeme to prefer the other. And *S. Chryſoſtome*, *Theophilact*, and *Theodoret* expreſly auouch both, *viz.*, that Antichriſt ſhall ſit both in the Temple of *Ieruſalem*, and in the Churches of the Chriſtians. By which the reader may eaſely iudg what probability M. *Downams* gheſſe hath, that S. *Chryſoſtomes* text is corrupted, becauſe it is contrary to *Oecumenius*. And whether Bellarmyne had not more reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Oecumenius* wanteth one word, which would make him agree, as vſually he doth, with S. *Chryſoſtome*, and *Theodoret*; for it is three to one, that any indifferent Reader will giue ſentence for *Bellarmine* againſt M. *Downam*; or at leaſt, if he rather thinketh, that there is no corruption in either, it wilbe moſt manifeſt, that *Oecumenius* who is the lateſt writter of them all, is not to be preferred before them all, and much leſſe before them, and all the other Fathers, who either expreſly hold againſt him, or at leaſt ioyne not with him in his deniall. That expoſition which S. *Auguſtine*, and *Primaſius* imbrace, that S. *Paul* ſhould vnderſtand Antichriſt, and his followers, eſteeming themſelues to be the Church of Chriſt, is not ſufficiently grounded in the Greeke text, as *Bellarmine* ſheweth; and the whole text, and the expoſition of all the other Fathers are againſt it, who think Antichriſt himſelf to be only ſpoken of. But admitting this expoſition as probable, what maketh it againſt the

See part 1. *c.* 13. None of the Fathers beſides Oecumenius deny that Antichriſt ſhall ſitt in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

Oecumenius ſeemeth to want a word.

the Pope, more then against *Luther*, or *Caluyn*, or any other beginner of the fifth Ghospell? Do not they and theyr company esteeme themselues alone to be the Catholick Church, and all others professing the name of Christ to be heretikes and schismatikes? Or if *M. Downam* will be so liberall as to imbrace them all in his Church, euen against theyr wills, while they in the meane tyme call him an heretick, and a schismatik; will he therefore put no limits at all to this his broken Congregation? will he include the Pope, and those which ioyne with him also? Or the *Grecians*, the *Anabaptists*, the *Arians*, and the like? No doubt, he will not; and yet all these professe the name of Christ, and may by his owne account call him and his fellowes Antichrist, since they esteeme themselues alone to be the Catholik Church, and all others professing the name of Christ, to be heretikes, and schismatikes? Wherfore this is no good proofe to shew who is Antichrist, since that there can be no question, but that the true Church of Christ shall doe so. And that most truly and iustly, because she taketh no more vpon her, then belongeth to her; whereas Antichrist, and his crew will vsurpe those titles which are due to others; in which all heretikes shew themselues to be his members, though there is a great difference betwixt them in this, as in other thinges, as hath beene shewed. Now whereas M. *Downam* addeth, that the *Roman* Church wherein the Pope sitteth is not now, but only hath beene the true Church in truth, *Bellarmyne* hath proued the contrary both by our Sauiours promise, and our aduersaryes, namely *Caluyns* confession, where we haue also seene what M. *Downam* could answer to eyther.

Down-nams argument against himself.

The true Church of Christ doth esteeme herself alone to be the Catholicke Church.

See part. 3. c. 6.

16. That which M. *Downam* answereth here to *Bellarmines* argument out of *Apoc.* 11. is at larg confuted in due place, where it hath beene shewed, that S. *Iohn* in that place speaketh of *Enoch* and *Elias* in particuler, and not of any two witnesses whatsoeuer. Wherefore it must needes be as probable that Antichrists chiefe seat shalbe at *Hierusalem* as that they shall preach, & be put to death in the cheife Citty of Antichrist: which none of the Fathers euer doubted of, nor any other can call in question, that considereth how they

Enoch and Elias shall both preach and dye in Antichrists chiefe Citty.

they are reserued all this while, to come in. Antichrists tyme, to oppose themselues against him, which they should not doe in any more eminent manner, then other blessed Martyrs, and seruants of God, vnlesse they did remayne and preach in the same Citty where Antichrist himself resideth: Though it be also very probable, that though they did preach in some other place, yet being apprehended, Antichrist would haue thē brought to his owne Tribunall, as we see other Persecutors inferiour to him in malice haue done with the most eminent men of theyr tyme. Neither is the example of our Sauiours suffering *at Hierusalē by the authority of the Roman Empyre* any thing against this: for at that tyme the Roman Emperour was no persecutour, & our Sauiours chiefe aduersaryes were the Iewes themselues; and therefore no meruaile, though he were put to death in theyr Citty: But Antichrist shalbe a greater persecutor then euer *Nero* was, and *Enoch* and *Elias* shalbe as opposite to him, as *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* were to this other; and therefore by all likelyhood they shall both preach, and dye in the chiefe seate of theyr greatest persecutor, as these blessed Apostles, and our Sauiour himself did. Now whereas M. *Downam* addeth, that if *our proposition be not generally true, then our whole argumentation from a particuler proposition is mere sophistry.* Surely he is exceeding adsurd, if he imagineth, that we speake of any witnesse whatsoeuer; or that our argument is not of force, if we inferre, that Antichrists seate shalbe at *Hierusalem*, because there he shall put these two witnesses which shall chiefely oppose themselues against him, to death.

17. Wherefore now he telleth vs, that S. *Iohn* in that place meaneth not *Ierusalem, but Rome*, or rather the Empyre of *Rome*. But seeing the words of the scripture so playne against him (for S. *Iohn* saith, that he speaketh of the Citty *where our Lord was crucifyed*) M. *Downam* answereth, that *Christ was crucifyed at Ierusalem, and in the great Citty also, that is to say, within the Roman Empyre, wherein, and by authority whereof our Sauiour Christ was put to death.* Where you see he hath found a deuise to reconcile these contrary opinions, *viz.* that S. *Iohn* may be vnderstood both of *Ierusalem*, and *Rome*; so that you will giue him leaue by *Rome* to vnderstand not the Citty,

Enoch and Elias shalbe put to death at Hierusalem.

Citty, but the Empyre of *Rome*. But *S. Iohn* in that place speaketh so euidently of a particuler Citty, that it is strange how M. *Downã* can call it in question; for it is too absurd to vnderstand the Cittyes or townes of the seueral Prouinces by the streetes in which the bodyes of *Enoch*, and *Elias* shall lye three dayes, and a halfe, since in this sort S. *Iohn* should signify no particuler place at all; and how will he explicate the earthquake, in which the tenth part of this Citty fell, and only seauen thousand were slayne? Finally if we should admit this his new exposition, it would not hinder, but that Antichrists seate shalbe at *Ierusalem*, as well as our Sauiour was crucifyed there, which is all that we would proue out of that place; for we neuer meant to deny, that Antichrist shall sit within the *Roman* Empire, if we take it, when it was at the greatest, at which time it also comprehended *Ierusalem* it self. I haue shewed before, that the *Rhemists* are altogether against M. *Downam* in this question, playnly affirming, that *S. Iohn Apoc.* 11. speaketh of *Ierusalem*; and the wordes which here he alleadgeth out of them are vnderstood of another great Citty called *Babylon*, by which indeed both they and we affirme, that *Rome* may very well be meant; and that among other reasons, because by her authority Christ was put to death first, and after S. *Peter*, and *S. Paul*, and the Popes theyr Successours &c. Which latter persecutions M. *Downam* still omitteth in the citation of the *Rhemists* wordes, because they were not to his purpose, but playnly shew, that they speake not of the same thing, which is mentioned *Apoc.* 11. Moreouer M. *Downam* saith, that he might *add, that euen in Rome it self Christ hath bene crucifyed in his members, and that within Ierusalem Christ was not crucified.* But surely if he should make these obiectiõs they would only serue to make his ridiculous folly more manifest. For who seeth not that *S. Iohn* speaketh of the crucifying of our Sauiour in his owne person; since that he describeth the place by that circumstance, which otherwise might be common to all the Cittyes in the world? And besides these two witnesses were also the members of Christ, and therfore he might in this sense be said to be crucifyed there in them; which were to explicate *idem per idem*; a fit deuise for

The Rhemists alleadged against theyr meaning.

Downãs ridiculous folly.

for *M. Downam*, but altogether vnworthy S. *Iohn*, the most diuine instrument of the holy ghost, who indeed opposeth the death of our Sauiour in person, to the sufferings of his members. Thus much of the first. The other is yet more ridiculous; that Christ was not crucifyed within *Ierusalem*. *S. Iohn* saith not, that he was crucifyed within the Citty, but there *vbi & Dominus eorum crucifixus est*: where we may note the exactnes of the Scripture. Let *M. Downam* but graunt vs, that Antichrist shall haue his pallace as neere *Hierusalem*, as our Sauiour had his Crosse, and we will vrge him no further. Well omitting this, let vs see what other arguments M. *Downam* hath, which he dares stand to. First then he obiecteth, *that in many other places of the Apoc. Rome is called the great Citty*. But what of this? Can there be no more great Cittyes but one? And is not this great Citty *Apoc.* 11. described in such sort, that it can by no meanes signify *Rome*? Wherefore hence we can only gather, that *Hierusalem* is to be a great Citty in Antichrists tyme, of which we make no doubt, since that Antichrist who shall surpasse all other Princes in greatnes, shall make his chiefe abode there. So that S. *Iohn* seemeth to oppose *Ierusalem* as it is called a great Citty, to the same, as it is called an holy Citty, for so he taketh it for the Church, as M. *Downam* may see in the place cited by him *Apoc.* 21. 10. where it hath not the title of *Great*, as he affirmeth, but of *Holy*. By which also it is manifest, that the exposition of that authour who goeth vnder S. *Augustines* name, and by this great Citty vnderstandeth the Church, is by no meanes probable, especially with M. *Downams* comment; for the Church can neither be adulterous, nor Apostaticall, and therefore the names of *Sodom*, and *Egipt* cannot agree to her, as they doe most aptly to *Ierusalem*, especially in Antichrists tyme, when she shall be full of pride, and vncleannes in the highest degree, as also of Idolatry, taking Antichrist for her God, and cruelty, ioyning with him in his most tyrannicall, and vniuersall persecution. Neither is it against this, that the same Citty of *Ierusalem* is called *Holy Matth.* 4. *yea euen after the death of our Sauiour*, *Matth.* 27. For as *Bellarmine* proueth verie well the same Citty may be both holy by reason of

How Hierusalem is called the great Citty, and spiritually Sodom and Egipt.

See part. 2. *c.* 13 How it is Holy.

the preaching of our Sauiour, his Prophets, and Apostles in it, and for the Crosse and Sepulcher of Christ; as also for that it was dedicated to God, and chosen by him, and had the Temple & the priesthood &c. & *Sodom*, and *Egipt* for her synnes and abhominations, as a Bishop or a King ought to be accounted holy for his office, and vnction, though he be wicked, and impious in respect of his behauiour, & actiõs. Now in this 11. Chapter of the Apocalyps *verse*. 2. it is not earthly *Ierusalem*, *that is called the holy Citty*, but the Church of God: Neither must M. *Downam* presse vs too far with the authority of S. *Hierome*. For *Bellarm.* aũswered rightly in his excuse, that he wrot that Epistle in the name of two Ladyes, whom it did beseeme well inough to argue in that manner, and yet they wrote no vntruths neyther, but only proposed probable arguments in commendation of their pious purpose, and proiect. But since S. *Hierome* is now so much vrged, let *M. Downam* stand to his iudgment, and he shalbe forced to confesse that not the *Roman* Empyre, but the world it self is signifyed by this great Citty, which is spiritually called *Sodom* and *Egipt*; though it had beene much more to his purpose to haue applyed it to *Rome*, or the *Roman* Empyre, if he could haue done so with any shew of probability. That which M. *Downam* addeth in the third place, that when *S. Iohn wrote this*, *Ierusalem was vtterly destroyed*, only sheweth that it is not the same *Ierusalem*, whereof *S. Iohn* speaketh, which was by S. *Matthew* called *Holy*, but the other which shalbe built by Antichrist in the end of the world, which though M. *Downam* denyeth, yet *Bellarmine* hath manifestly conuinced it; and in that place I haue confuted, what M. *Downam* could answer. For now he bringeth no new proofes. And the authority of the Bishops of *Germany* which he alleadgeth out of *Auentinus*, for the mayne question, that *S. Paul by the Temple of God vnderstandeth the Church of Christ*, will be ere long repeated againe by him, and therefore it shalbe sufficient to answer it there, which is the more proper place.

18. Now let vs see, how he goeth on. And first he seemeth to take aduantage of the diuers solutions, which Catholikes giue to this argument concerning *Babylon*, as though

though the proofe were euer the better, because it may be answered diuers wayes. But here chiefely he impugneth *Bellarmine* for saying, that though the Whore of *Babylon* did signify *Rome* Christened; ye it could not be the seate of Antichrist. And he exaggerateth the manner by telling vs, that *Bellarmyne is not ashamed to say so.* And thē he reciteth the whole description of *Babylon*, and with all addeth his own explication thereof, and to make vp the matter, ioyneth that which is written *Apoc.* 11. of *Ierusalem*, to the 17. and 18. Chapters which speake of *Rome*. From which discourse of his, if you take his owne explication, and that which we haue shewed to be vnderstood of *Ierusalem*, there only remayneth so much, as may very well agree to *Heathen Rome*, before it was christened, as the Reader may easely see by the text it self, and by that which hath beene said: and consequently though we should with *Bellarmyne* for disputation sake, let passe M. *Downams* proposition, that S. *Iohn Apoc.* 17. and 18. speaketh of *Rome* Christened; yet it would only follow that it were to be in as bad estate againe before the end of the world as it was before it was christened; which notwithstanding were a farre different thing from being the seate of Antichrist; as is manifest by so many partes of the world, which are fallen from Christendome to be Turkes, and hereticks, and yet are not the seates of Antichrist. And whereas he addeth, that *the Papists themselues are forced to confesse that the state of* Rome *is here figured, as it shalbe in the tyme of Antichrist*, he might haue done well to haue expressed whom he meaneth. For surely this assertion hath no probability at all, except the meaning be, that after all those thinges, which are written of *Rome* in the 17. and 18. chapters be accomplished, then Antichrist shall come, which is true indeede, but helpeth M. *Downams* cause nothing at all, but rather quite ouerthroweth it. The second thing which he attributeth to the Papists is true in part; for Catholikes confesse indeed, and proue most euidently, that *Antichrist is signified by the last head of the beast, vpon which the whore of Babylon sitteth*; but that this beast signifyeth *Rome* hath beene already confuted, and withall shewed, that it signifyed the Diuell, whose heades those 7. Kinges, which are there spoken of

Though Rome christened were Babylon yet it could not be the seat of Antichrist.

Those thinges which are written of Rome Apoc. 17. and 18. shalbe accōplished before Antichrists cōming.

The 7. heades Apoc. 17. belong not to Rome, but to the Diuel.

are, and not the heades of *Rome*, which is only signifyed by the Whore of *Babylon*. All which is manifest out of the greeke text, in which it is ἔχον κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ, which can in no sort belong to γυναικὶ the woman, but to θηρίον the beast, by which as we haue seene not *Rome* but the Diuel is vnderstood, and consequently M. *Downam* hath no reason to call this beast the *Roman beast*, or to imagine, that the 7. heades signify *the 7. different gouernments of Rome*; making the Popes to be the seaueth, whereas indeed there are 7. if not 8. besydes them: for besides *Kinges*, *Consuls*, *Decemuiri*, *Tribunes of souldiers*, *Dictatours*, and *Emperours*, which M. *Downam* recounteth, all agree that before the *Emperours*, there were *Triumuiri*, and likewise it is manifest, that the gouernement was altered when the *Tribuni Plebis* were ioyned to the *Consuls*, who before gouerned alone; to omit that *Tacitus* seemeth to make *Cinna's*, and *Silla's* dominion distinct from any of the rest.

Cap. 1. Likewise the cause why this beast is described with these 7. heads, is no doubt, for that he moued them, and they concurred with him to persecute Gods people, which M. *Downam* cannot truly shew of any of the *Roman* Gouernours before the Emperours; wherefore the common exposition of this place is most probable, that by these 7. heades are signifyed, the wicked Kinges, or Tyrants in the 7. ages of the world as *Cayn*, & his posterity togeather with the gyants in the first age from *Adam* to *Noe*; *Nemrod* & such other in the second from *Noe* to *Abraham*; The Kinges of *Egipt* and other nations in the third from *Abraham* to *Dauid*, The *Assyrians* in the fourth, from *Dauid* to the transmigration of *Babylon*. The *Chaldeans*, and *Grecians* in the fifth from that transmigration to Christ; The Emperours of *Rome* (as in S. *Iohns* tyme) and after the *Agarens*, and *Turkes*, and others in the sixth, from Christ to *Antichrist*; *Antichrist* himself and other Kinges his associates in the seaueth, from his tyme to the end of the world. And that which this last persecution shall want in legh of tymes shal haue in vniuersality of place, and excesse of all tyrannicall cruelty. Finally it is also manifest, that the Popes cannot be accounted among the distinct gouernments of the *Roman* state, since that they only haue the Citty, togeather which some other territorie adioy

The 7. heads signify the tyrants of the 7. ages of the world.

The Pops are none of the gouernours of the Roman state.

adioyning. Whereas the chiefe gouernment conſiſteth in the cõmaund of the whole Empyre, which no Pope euer had, but continueth in the Emperours at this day. Neither maketh it any thing againſt this, that *the Pope is aboue the Emperour* in ſpirituall matters, and *may alſo depoſe him* in ſome caſes. For this only ſheweth, that in a Chriſtian Common wealth the body is ſubordinate to the ſoule, and the temporall to the ſpirituall; ſo that rather then the ſoule ſhould periſh, it may chaſtice the body; & rather thẽ Chriſts Church ſhould ſuffer any notable detrimẽt, his vicegerẽt may diſpoſſeſſe an Emperour. All which argueth no ſucceſſion at all, but rather the contrary; for how could the Pope depoſe an Emperour, if he had already ſucceeded him in his office, and dignity? Wherefore it only sheweth, that Chriſt inſtituted a new Common wealth, without altering the former; only prouiding, that this his new inſtitution ſhould not be abrogated, or impeached by the former, which is farre inferiour to it. But let vs returne to M. *Downam*, againſt whom by that which hath beene ſaid it appeareth plainely, that though *S. Iohn* did ſpeake of Chriſtened *Rome*, yet it would by no meanes follow, that Antichriſt ſhould haue his ſeate there, which *Bellarmine* proueth inuincibly, for that *Rome* ſhalbe deſtroyed in Antichriſts time: againſt which M. *Downam* hath nothing to obiect, but that *Rome* ſhall not be deſtroyed by Antichriſt himſelf, but by the ten Kinges, ſignifyed by the 10. hornes; which indeed maketh *Bellarmines* argument of much more force; ſince that he proued, that the 10. Kinges were to be before Antichriſt, and likewiſe to deſtroy *Rome* before his comming; out of which is manifeſt, that Antichriſt ſhall not haue his ſtate in *Rome*, except we will affirme without all ground of Scripture, that *Rome* ſhalbe built agayne after that deſtruction of the 10 Kinges; which is both againſt the Scripture, as hath bene ſhewed, eſpecially in M. *Downams* expoſition, and beſides will not ſerue his turne; for that by this meanes all that which is ſpoken of *Rome Apoc.* 17. and 18. muſt needes be accompliſhed before it come to be the ſeate of Antichriſt; as no doubt it ſhall, before it be deſtroyed. Either hath M. *Downam* diſtinction of theſe 10. Kings firſt

Downam impugneth himſelf.

concum-

concurring and after impugning of Antichrist, any probability: for as I haue shewed, the Scripture plainely expresseth that they shall giue their Kingdome, and power to the beast in that very action of destroying *Rome*. But *M. Downam* is much mistaken in thinking that this beast signifyeth Antichrist; for it is manifest by that, which hath beene said, that it signifieth the Diuell. And if *Bellarmine* may be borne withall, for fauouring that exposition, the contradiction which M *Downam* obiecteth against him is easily dissolued; for so it were all one whether the 10. Kinges distroy *Rome* at Antichrists command, which *Bellarmine* affirmeth in the second place, or Antichrist be sayd to destroy *Rome* by the 10. Kinges, as by his instruments, which he seemeth to affirme first. And though as I haue said this exposition of the beast be false, yet *Bellarmine* might well make vse of it against *M. Downams* Maisters, who seeme to hold it, as he doth also himself; and yet hath not so much wit, as to see how easily *Bellarmine* may be saued from any contradiction, that exposition supposed: as he may in some sort also in the true; for since those 10. Kinges are eyther to yield themselues, or be cõquered by Antichrist, and he shall concurr with them in extinguishing the Empyre of *Rome*, and persecuring Gods Church, no meruaile though they actions be in some sort attributed vnto him. But indeed *Bellarmine* seemeth rather to haue supposed the other opinion, as being graunted by his aduersaryes; or at least to haue vrged this poynt no further, because he saw, that there was litle difference for the force of his argument, whether *Rome* were to be destroyed by Antichrist himself, or by the ten Kinges his immediate forerunners.

The 10. Kinges shall concur with the beast in the destruction of Rome.

Bellarmine falsely charged with a contradiction

19. *M. Downam* concludeth this Chapter, with the refutation of our last refuge, as he calleth it, *viz.* that not *Rome Christian where the Pope sitteth, doth not stand vpon 7. hills but is remoued, into the plaine of Campus Martius, and that the Pope sitteth on the other syde of the riuer vpon the Mount Vatican*, which is none of the 7. hills, vpon which *Rome* is said to stand: for those are, as *M. Downam* himself relateth them, *Palatinus, Capitolinus, Quirinalis, Cœlius, Esquilinus, Viminalis, Auentinus*. This *M. Downam* impugneth with telling vs, that *Rome*

Rome at this tyme standeth not vpon 7. hills.

now is the ſame, where we ſay Peter ſate; and conſequently, *now alſo it ſtandeth* vpon 7. hills. To which argument of his we may eaſily anſwere, by denying the conſequence; for this particuler ſituation vpon 7. hills is not neceſſary for *Rome* to remayne the ſame Citty, as *M. Downam* may eaſily conſider by the example of a riuer, which may change the water, and channell, and of a ſhip which by degrees may haue in a manner all her partes renewed, and yet remayne the ſame; and I would fayne know whether he will deny one to be the ſame man, becauſe he hath loſt his armes, or by nutrition inſenſibly is in a manner wholy changed, as Philoſophers proue. Wherfore we graunt *Rome* to be the ſame Citty, though it hath a diuers ſituation, as likewiſe it hath different men, manners, and religion from that it had, when it was firſt built. Neither doe we deny, that *the walls doe ſtill incloſe thoſe 7. hills, vpon which the Citty ſtood heretofore*; nor, *that one or two of the Popes Pallaces ſtand vpon ſome of thoſe hills, as alſo the Cathedrall Church of Lateran, of which the Pope is moſt properly Biſhop*. But we only affirme, that the Citty it ſelf ſtandeth not now vpon thoſe 7. hills, as it did heretofore; and cõſequently that this circumſtance belongeth rather to *Rome* in thoſe times, then in this, that is, to *heathen Rome* then to *Rome Chriſtian*, eſpecially in our dayes; and we thinke the Proteſtants to be very childiſh to vrge an argument, which in rigour proueth againſt themſelues; as alſo, that this change of ſituation in this citty hath not happened without the particuler prouidence of God, who by this meanes, as well as by many other, hath vouchſafed to make it playne, that the Proteſtans, and other heretiks haue without all ſhew of probability, fallen to this blaſphemous calumniation of *Rome Chriſtened*, and the cheife paſtours of Chriſts Church vpon earth.

It Is notwithſtanding the ſame Citty which herefore did ſtand vpon them.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

VVHERIN

M. Downams *Discourse concerning the tyme of the Reuelation of Antichrist is confuted.*

WE haue seene hitherto how far wide M. *Downams* conceit is from the truth concerning the place, or seate of Antichrist. Now we are to examine his opinion of the tyme, in which he supposeth that Antichrist came. And first he speaketh somewhat generally, only telling vs, that he was *to sitt or raigne at Rome, when the Emperours were remoued, and the Empyre in the VVest dissolued*; for these two thinges happened not togeather, since that *Constantine* the great remoued his seate frō *Rome* to *Constantinople* more thē a hundred yeares before the tyme of *Augustulus* who was the last Emperour of the West vntill the tyme of *Charles* the great. And when *Odoacer* preuayled against *Augustulus*, it was he, that became gouernour of *Rome*, and not any other; as also *Theodoricus* and his successours after him vntill *Belisarius* recouered it for the Emperour of the East, who at that tyme was *Iustinian*, 60. yeares after *Augustulus* his ouerthrow. Wherefore I cannot see, how M. *Downam* can make it good, that Antichrist succeeded the Emperours in the seat, and gouer-

The Emperours were remoued from Rome before the dissolution of the Empyre in the West.

gouernment of *Rome*, vpon the remouing of the Emperours from thence, and the dissolution of the Empyre in the west; but perhaps he will explicate himself more fully afterward, wherefore let this remayne thus till then, for I will by no meanes alter his order, and method. Now then let vs see how he proueth this his position. He alleadgeth 2. *Thessal.* 2. where indeed the Apostle telleth vs, that Antichrist was not to come, till the Empyre, and Emperours of *Rome* were taken out of the way; which M. *Downam* proueth very learnedly out of the Fathers, as *Bellarmine* had done before him; and in this place he attributeth as much to them and to traditions, as any man can desire; and if he would doe so still, our controuersyes with him would soone be at an end; for that he would fynd, that we haue still plenty of both in all other poyntes, aswell as in this. Well let vs accept of that he saith here, and hope that he will not wilfully continue in his errours, when he shall throughly consider of them: *VVho this was* (*that hindered Antichrists comming*) *the Apostle said told the Thessal. by word of mouth* (saith M. *Downam*) *and therefore for iust causes to tell them by writing which they knew already, to wit, that he might not incur the needlesse hatred of the Romans. But that which he told them in all likelyhood was continued in the Church. For although this place in it self be most difficult, yet generally it is vnderstood of the Empyre, and Emperours of Rome by most of the ancient writters of the Church.* Thus farre M. *Downam*, and then he alleadgeth the Fathers at large, as he may easely do for this, or any thing els wherein he agreeth with vs.

Antichrist could not take possession of Rome when the Empyre of the West was dissolued.

See part. 1. c. 5.

Downam expounded the Scripture by traditions, and the Fathers whē they make for him.

2. But, as he well noteth himselfe, he needeth not be so diligent in gathering testimonyes for the cōfirmation of this truth, which is also taught by *Bellarmine*. But he might doe well to bring some one that auoucheth *S. Paul* speake not of an vtter abolishing of the *Roman* Empyre, and that there should not remayne so much as the name of the Emperour or King of the *Romans*; for in this consisteth the difference betwixt him and *Bellarmine*, who hath also shewed, that all the Fathers are most manifestly for him; wherefore M. *Downam* is constrayned to betake himself to his owne priuate exposition of *S. Paul*, that is, that *the Emperour was to be so farre forth taken out of the way as it hindered*

The Empyre is to be vtterly destroyed before the comming of Antichrist

the Exaltation of dominion of antichrist; this he confirmeth out of the phrase of the Apostle, *Vntill he be done, or taken out of the way*, and *by the conference of like places, Matth.* 13. 49. where the euill are sayd to be separated by the Angells, *de medio iustorum, Act.* 17. 33. where *S. Paul* is sayd to haue gone out from the midst of those which were present, *Act.* 22. 10. where the souldiers are commaunded to take S. *Paul* from amongst the Saducees, and Pharisees, *rapere eum de medio eorum*, 1. *Cor.* 5. 2. where *S. Paul* reprehendeth the *Corinthians*, for that they did not striue to take a publick sinner from among them, *vt tollatur de medio vestrum*. Finally 2. *Cor.* 6. 17. where Gods people are commaunded to goe out of the middest of Idolatours, *Exite de medio eorum*. But the discreet Reader will easely perceaue, that *M. Downam* conferreth very badly in this place; since that he bringeth only such places, as are to be vnderstood eyther of locall, or some spirituall separatiō; whereas he could not choose but know that this phrase is often to be vnderstood of a finall destruction, as may be seene very often in the booke of *Deuteronomy*, to omit other places; where still certayne offendours are commaunded to be slayne by the Iewes, that by that meanes they may take away euill *de medio sui*. And in this sort doe the Fathers, which *Bellarmine* and *M. Downam* also alleadg, expound it, calling this taking out of the way, the dissolution, and destruction of the Empyre; and the phrase of *S. Paul* is manifest: for he saith not, that this Empyre must be taken out of the middest of this or that company, as these other places alleadged doe; but absolutly, *donec de medio fiat*, vntil it be taken out of the way; which must needes signify an ablolute destruction; as we see in the like phrase *Coloss.* 2. 14. where *S. Paul* saith, that our Sauiour tooke the hand writing which was against vs out of the way, *ipsum tulit de medio*, which I hope *M. Downam* will not imagine not to haue beene vtterly abolished, and destroyed. Well let vs go forward, and see how *M. Downam* imagineth that the Empyre hindered the comming of Antichrist, & consequently how in his opinion it was to be taken out of the way. And first he distinguisheth betwixt the old Empyre which was till *Anguſtulus* his tyme, and the new, which began from

What (*de medio fieri*) signifyeth.

Chap.

Charles the Great in the Weſt. Now then in his iudgment only the old Empyre hindered Antichriſts cõming, & was to be taken out of the way, as the Apoſtle affirmeth, whome he flatly denyeth to ſpeake in any ſort of the new.

3. This no doubt will ſeeme a ſtrange paradox euen to moſt Proteſtants, for that by this meanes, all the Princes of the Empire for theſe 800. yeares, which is half the time, which hath paſſed ſince Chriſt, haue concurred with the Emperour to ſupport Antichriſt, as alſo the three Proteſtant Electours, and other Princes of the Empire doe at this day; whereas all the heathen Emperours and Princes hindered the comming of Antichriſt, which the Chriſtians further and ſupport. But let vs heare *M. Downam* reaſons, and perhaps we ſhall meruayle yet more. Firſt then he ſaith; that *the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the Empire which hindred, or held then, and of that only, for ſo he ſaith, Only he which now letteth* &c. and *S. Hierome, ad Algaſ. quæſt.* 11. hath, *in præſentiarum. But the old Empire hindered then, and not the new, and therefore the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the taking away of the old Empire, and not of the new.* Is not this a ſound argument thinke yow? May not a man aſwell infer, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the Empyre vnder *Nero* only, ſince that only hindred in his time? But it is manifeſt that *S. Paul* ſpeaketh of the *Roman* Empire in Eaſt or Weſt, old or new; for ſo all interpreters expound him; ſo that as the Roman Empyre, which was in *S. Pauls* tyme hindered Antichriſts cõming; ſo hath the ſame done in all other tymes, and doth ſtill, and ſhall doe ſo long as any *Roman* Empyre remayneth; for S. *Paul* ſpeaketh abſolutly of any *Roman* Empyre whatſoeuer; & theſe diſtinctions of Eaſt and Weſt, old and new, are *M. Downams* additions, which corrupt the text. I omit that it is manifeſt, that Antichriſt can by no meanes be ſaid to haue come, when the old Empyre in the Weſt was diſſolued in *Auguſtulus*, as we haue ſeene already.

M. Downams ſtrang paradoxe.

So long as any Roman Empyre whatſoeuer remayneth Antichriſt ſhall not come.

Secondly, ſaith *M. Downam*, when *S. Paul* ſaith, *the Empyre hindered, he meaneth the imperiall authority, and dominion and that at Rome, not the title or name thereof in Germany; for it is not the name or title of an Emperour in Germany, that can hinder the dominion of Antichriſt at Rome, and much leſſe at Ieruſalem where the Papiſts ſay his ſeate ſhalbe.* Now *M. Downam* coarcteth Antichriſts

Kingdome into a very small compasse; & besides supposeth a great absurdity, that Antichrists dominion should be hindered perforce by the *Roman* Empyre; whereas it is certayne that this shalbe destroyed, and deuided among 10. Kings before Antichrist commeth, as *Bellarmine* hath proued at large; as likewise, that Antichrist shall haue the whole world subiect to him: and he abuseth greately agayne the Emperour that now is, and all his predecessours for these 800. yeares, attributing vnto them only the name, and title of Emperour; whereas many of them haue beene as potent as euer was any Emperour of the West before *Augustulus*. Also he seemeth to thinke that it is necessary for him, that is indeed the Roman Emperour, to haue the citty of *Rome* in his owne handes; which notwithstanding is manifestly false, as *Bellarmine* hath proued, and *M. Downam* beene inforced to confesse. Finally I cannot see, why he maketh mention of our opinion, that Antichrist shall haue his seate at *Hierusalem*; for I thinke he will not goe about to shew, that Antichrist hath sitten all this while there, because he could not be hindered by the *Roman* Emperours; though this indeed were more to his purpose, since it is manifest, that our opinion in this point is most true, and this other of *M. Downam* most false. But in this sort he should haue nothing to say against the Pope, whome he is fully resolued to impugne, though he doth it neuer so fondly, and absurdly. Wherefore let vs see how he proceedeth in his folly.

See part. 1. c. 5.

His third proofe is, *because Antichrist appeared, and shewed himselfe (and in that sense was reuealed) before the erection of the new* Empyre; this he proueth, for that the *new Empyre is the image of the former beast Apoc. 13. which the second beast*, whome he imagineth to be Antichrist, *causeth to be made*. But this foolish deuise is long since exploded, where wee shewed that the former beast is Antichrist, and the later his armiger or false prophet, who causeth his Maisters image to be sett vp and adored; likewise wee haue conuinced, that the beast *Apoc.* 17. hath but 7. heades, and consequētly that the new Empyre cannot be the 8. head, since ther are not so many; no more then *M. Downam* can be the 8. wise man,

See part. c. 13.

except

except he wilbe accounted a foole: and I haue also made manifest how he hath corrupted that place of Scripture, to make the 8. seeme one of the 7. heads; whereas the Scripture hath no such thing, but only that he is of, or belonging to the 7. as a beast doth partake and concur with his heades in all their actions; for so doth the Diuell, signifyed by that beast, concurre with the 7. Kings, signifyed by the 7. heads of the beast, and yet, as is euident, is distinguished from them all, and consequently maketh vp the number of 8. not heades, but gouernours, or Kings. For this did *S. Iohn* signify, that the beast it selfe signifyed a distinct gouernour, as well as his seauen heades, but with this distinction, that he was not only a particuler person, but also a generall ruler, who had continued as long as all the other 7. mouing and assisting them all.

His 4. proofe is yet more absurd, for in it he will haue *the whore of Babylon to be the Antichristian state*, which I haue shewed, and that by his owne confession to signity the Empyre and citty of Rome; *the beast he will haue to be the new Empyre, because it is sayd to ascend*; and consequently he must graunt, that the new Empyre, or at least the Empyre hath 7. heades, and that one of them is the Empyre it selfe, as likewise that the same Empyre signifyed by the whore of *Babylon*, sitteth vpon her selfe signifyed also by the beast; to this confused labyrinth hath this his new inuention cast him. And yet he will goe forward in it; for his 5 proofe is no other, but *that this new Empyre supporteth the Pope*, whome he supposeth to be Antichrist; and consequently *S. Paul* could not possibly say, that the new Empyre hindered his coming. But what if we deny that the Pope is Antichrist? where is M. *Downams* argument then? Wee willingly graunt, that the new Empyre ought by right to assist the Pope, more then any other Christian princedom, because it hath receyued more benefits from him then they all; but yet we know also, that many of these Emperours haue bin most vngratefull, and impugned the Apostolicall Sea more then euer any other Prince did; but what of all this? we deny the Pope to be Antichrist; how proueth M. *Downam* his? Perhaps he would haue vs graunt it him, and then

See. c. 22. n. 4. 9.

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he would argue well inough; verily I think so; but now I must tell him once againe that we deny it, as also that the whore of *Babylon* signifyeth him; or that shee signifyeth Antichrist himselfe; or that the beast, wheron shee sitteth, signifyeth the new empyre; all which are M. *Downams* suppositions in this place, because he would be sure to practise his wonted figure of *Petitio Principij*.

M. Downams *petitio principi*.

His 6. proofe is taken from our confession, *that the Empyre which now is, shall endure to the end of the world; because we say, that Dan. 2. is described a succession of the chiefe Kingdomes or Monarchyes of the earth, which should continue to the end of the world, the last whereof is the Roman.* Would any man imagine that *Bellarmine*, whom M. *Downam* impugneth, did expressely inferre out of this place, that after the *Roman* Monarchy there should arise 10. Kinges signifyed by the 10. toes? And yet he doth so expressely: wherfore I must only tell the courteous Reader (for M. *Downam* knoweth as much already) that wee hold, that those fewer Monarchyes, whereof the *Roman* is the last, shall endure vntill the world cōmeth to the end, which is not to be taken Metaphisically for the very last instāt, but for that short space, in which ther shallbe so many & so strange reuolutions, as it may well be accounted the decaying, and as it were the last sickenesse of the world, wherof it shall dye and perish. This conteyneth the diuision of the *Roman* Empyre among 10. Kings, and the raigne of Antichrist for three yeares and an halfe, all which together with the few weekes, or dayes, which the world shall endure after him is both by the Scripture and Fathers, and consequently by vs, called the end or consumation of the world. M. *Downam* taketh his last proofe from the authority of the Fathers who say, that the Empyre shalbe deuided among 10. Kinges before the reuelation of Antichrist, this diuision (sayth he) *was made long since in the old Empyre*; but he telleth vs not when thoughby that which he hath sayd heretofore, we may gather, that his meaning is in the tyme of *Augustulus*, after his deposition; and likewise that he will not stand strictly to the number of 10. but take it for many. And yet all this will not serue his turne, for the Fathers manifestly speak of ten, neyther more nor lesse, and the Scripture

See part. 2. c. 9.

sel

ſelfe is plain, which alway repeateth the number. Beſydes both the Fathers and the ſcripture ſpeake of the whole Romane Empire, and not only of the Weſterne, as *M. Downam* fondly doth, and finally they ſpeake of a totall diuiſion, ſo that the whole *Romane* Empyre ſhalbe deuided among theſe ten Kinges, and conſequently no part of it ſhall remain in the hands of any *Romane* Emperour, as now it doth. By which is alſo diſcouered the folly of his other aſſertion, that *theſe* 10. *Kinges ſhould ariſe out of the new Empyre, as it ſhalbe at their cõming, & which now he thinketh to be a bare name & title of an Emperour.* For this is a mere imaginatiõ indeed; for no Catholicke euer dreamt of any ſuch matter, but that as we now ſee many Princes, whoſe dominiõs once belonged to the Romane Empyre, to be wholy exempt, and abſolute; ſo before the comming of Antichriſt this number ſhall ſo increaſe, that they ſhalbe ten, neyther more nor leſſe. And wheras now there is a *Roman* Emperour not only in name and title, but in reall power and dominions; then there ſhal not be any at all, no not ſo much as in title, for that theſe Kings will acknowledg no ſuperiority one to another, & much leſſe to any other; wherfore the more that *M. Downam* diminiſheth the *Roman* Empyre that now is, the more he declareth that Antichriſt is at hand; and that Proteſtants ſhew themſelues to be his fore-runners, as well in other things, as alſo in their impugning the *Romane* Empyre; and contrary wiſe that the Pope ſheweth himſelfe to be moſt oppoſite to Antichriſt, in vpholding the *Roman* Empyre, as in all other things.

4. *M. Downam* ſuppoſing that he hath ſufficiently proued, that only the old Empyre of the Weſt hindered Antichriſts cõming, will now goe about to declare how this old Empyre was taken out of the way; which diſcourſe of his though I might omit as altogeather impertinent, ſince that it is manifeſt by that, which hath byn ſayd, that this his diſtinction of Eaſt and Weſt, old and new is without all ground, and contrary to all the Fathers, and S. *Paul* himſelfe, who ſpeak abſolutely of any *Roman* Empyre whatſoeuer, and M. *Downam* hath no ground to vnderſtand him rather of the Weſt then of the Eaſt Empyre; but only be-

cause he supposeth that the Pope is Antichrist, which is our principall question; or that Antichrists seat shalbe at *Rome*, which I haue shewed to be false; and that it shalbe at *Ierusalem*, and consequently that the East *Empyre* should rather hinder his comming, and be taken out of the way before it, then the West. Though, I say, all this be thus; yet will I not omit this discourse of his neyther, that he may haue no cause to complaine, that he is not fully answered; and that the Reader may see his egregious foolery more plainly discouered. Wherfore he putteth *two Degrees of the taking out of the way the Roman Emperour*: first, *when the Imperiall seat was by Constantine the Great translated* from *Rome* to *Bizantium*, or *Constantinople*; where first you see this most worthy, and most Christian Emperour made the first instrument to make way for Antichrist; which is such a calumniation of that noble Monarch, as it had byn hard for all the Infidels of his tyme, or for the Diuells themselues to haue inuented a greater. And yet this is much increased by the reason which he assigneth (out of the donation of *Constantine*, which he calleth forged without further proofe) of this translation of the Empyre, *viz. that the Emperour might giue place to the Pope, or as the wordes of the donation are, because where the princehood of Priests, and head of Christian Religion, was by the heauenly Emperour placed, there it is not iust, that the earthly Emperour should haue power*. Now I would aske M. *Downam* whether he thinketh that *Constantine* remoued his Imperiall seat vpon this occasion or no? If he did, what impudency is it in M. *Downam* to charge him so expressly with setting vp of Antichrist? If not (which he will hardly make good) to what end doth he bring this assertion to confirme, that this was the first degree of taking the Empyre out of Antichrists way?

Constantine the Great calumniated by Downā.

Dist. 96. c. Constātinus, & de elect. c. fundamēt. in 6.

In explicating the second degree he is so prolixe and confused, that it is hard to gather his meaning; for in this narratiō of his he comprehendeth much aboue 400. yeares. But let vs examine his whole discourse; Thus then he writeth; *after the death of Constantine the Great, and of Flauius Valerius Constantinus his sonne, the Romane Empyre being deuided into two partes, the Easterne and the VVesterne, and by diuision being weakened, the*

the VVeſterne was ouerthrowen in the yeare of our Lord 475. and Rome it ſelfe taken by the Gothes. In which briefe narration ther are many omiſſions at leaſt, if not errours; for this is the truth. of the hiſtory. *Conſtantine* the Great being dead in the yeare 341. the Empyre was forthwith deuided into Eaſt & Weſt; *Conſtantine* the younger, and *Conſtans* hauing alſo the Weſt deuided betwixt them; but after their death in the yeare 353. *Conſtantius* had the whole Empyre in his hands, who before only ruled in the Eaſt. After *Conſtantius* ſucceeded *Iulian*, & *Iouian*, who both had likewiſe both Eaſt and Weſt; But *Valentinian*, who ſucceeded *Iouian*, contenting himſelfe with the Weſt, gaue the Eaſt to his brother *Valens* in the yeare 368. and ſo remayned deuided for aboue 100. yeares, vntill the tyme of *Auguſtulus*, from whome *Odoacer* tooke the Weſt Empyre; but yet contenting himſelf with the name of King, was neuer called Emperour, as neyther the *Gothes*, which ouerthrew and ſucceeded him; ſo that the Weſt Empyre remayned without an Emperour for the ſpace of 80. yeares or therabout, vntill *Iuſtinian* recouered it, to whome of right it did belong immediatly after *Auguſtulus* his death: for in thoſe dayes the Empyre was not ſo deuided, but that the Lawes were made in the name of both Emperours for the whole Empyre, and if eyther of them dyed without children, the gouernment of the whole Empyre belonged of right to the other; for which cauſe *Oroſius* writeth very well *lib.* 7. that in *Arcadius* and *Honorius* their tyme (and the like is of the reſt) *the Empyre was common, though their ſeates were deuided.* Yea *Theodoricus*, who conquered *Odoacer*, obtayned firſt the Kingdome of *Italy* from *Zeno* then Emperour of the Eaſt, who adopted him, and ſent him into *Italy* againſt *Odoacer*; for which cauſe both he, and his ſucceſſors acknowledged themſelues ſubiect to the Emperour of the Eaſt, as *Bellarmine* proueth againſt *Illyricus*, who was ſo far different from M. *Downam* in this point, that he would needes haue both *Odoacer*, & *Theodoricus* with his ſucceſſours to be Emperours of the Weſt.

When the Roman Empyre was deuided into Eaſt & Weſt.

How this diuiſion was limited.

De tranſl. Rom. Imperij c. 9.

The Emperour of the Eaſt was alſo of the Weſt after Auguſtulus.

By all which it plainly appeareth, that the Emperour of the Eaſt neuer loſt his iuriſdiction ouer the Weſt; and that he tooke alſo poſſeſſion therof not long after *Auguſtulus*

was put downe; for that *Odoacer* continued not aboue 15. yeares, and *Theodoricus* tooke possession in the Emperours name; and within 60. yeares *Rome* was rendred to *Bellisarius*, for *Iustinian* then Emperour, who also within other 20. yeares got most of the West Empyre into his owne hands: and so it continued vntill the tyme of *Leo Isauricus* aboue 150. yeares. Wherfore when M. *Downam* sayth, that there was not any Emperour in the west from *Augustulus* to *Charles* the Great, his meaning, if it be true, can only be, that there was not any distinct Emperour from him of the East; which is nothing to our present purpose; for we only examine, whether the *Roman* Empyre had nothing to do with the west all this tyme or no; for if it had, as we haue seene, then M. *Downam* hath no reason to tell vs, that the old *Roman* Empyre ceased in the West in *Augustulus*; for he should only say, that the diuision of the Empyre ceased then, and that all returned to the iurisdiction and gouernment of one Emperour, as it had byn before. I omit his other cauill, *that no Roman had his seat of authority in Rome all this while*. For this is altogether impertinent, since that the *Roman* Empyre may stand without the Citty of *Rome*; and false also, vnlesse he account the Emperours of the East no *Romans*, because they were not borne in that Citty; nor their Captaynes & other officers in *Rome* to haue any seat of authority, because they were not the chiefest.

Of the *Gothes* we haue already spoken sufficiently. The *Lombards*, though somtimes they preuailed much, yet could they neuer so exclud the Emperours out of *Italy*, but that they had their Exarchats at *Rauenna*, who gouerned some part of *Italy* & *Rome* it self, as M. *Downā* himselfe confesseth vntill the tyme of Leo *Isauricus*. Wherfore hitherto this old Empyre is not taken out of the way. Now then let vs see what happened in this Emperours time. M. *Downam* telleth vs that *he held a Councell at Constantinople of* 330. *Bishops, wherin was decreed that all images within the Empyre should be destroyed and burnt*: but for this he alledgeth no authority at all; and sure it is that S. *German* then Patriarch of *Constantinople* openly resisted the Emperour in his impious course; telling him plainly, that the decision of such matters belonged not to him;

him; for which he was afterward by this wicked Tyrant put out of his Biſhoprike, and dyed in baniſhment, as may partly be ſeene in S. *Iohn Damaſcen orat. 2. de Imagin.* who alſo both laboured and ſuffered much for the ſame cauſe. Wherfore perhaps this Councell which M. *Downam* mentioneth was held vnder *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, when by the Emperours tyranny, this hereſy had gotten more fauourites. But howſoeuer this were, certayn it is, that this was no lawfull Councell, being altogeather againſt the Popes commaund, and without any lawfull Patriarch at all. Wheras on the other ſide Pope *Gregory* the third condemned this impious attempt of the Emperour, and approued the vſe and worſhip of Images in a Councell of almoſt a thouſand Biſhops, as *Matthæus Palmerius* with others teſtifyeth in *Chronic. anno Domini 739.*

When & for what cauſe the Emperour of the East was depriued of Italy.

Well now we are not to diſcuſſe this queſtion of Images, but only to ſee how the Empyre was taken out of the way; wherfore let vs heare, how M. *Downam* goeth forward in this narration. *After this Councell* (ſayeth he) *Leo did put the ſame decree in execution, for which the Popes of Rome, firſt Gregory the ſecond, and afterward Gregory the third did excommunicate him, forbid tributes to be payed him out of Italy and Rome, abſolue his ſubiects from their allegiance vnto him, and hauing ſtirred vp not only the Italians, but Lombards alſo againſt him, the Exarch of Rauenna in Italy, and the Emperour deprined of all his dominion, and reuenewes in Italy and Rome.* Thus he. In which narration of his, there are ſome thinges true, and other falſe; for true it is, that the Popes excommunicated this hereticall Emperour, and likewiſe depriued him of his tributes in *Italy*, and conſequently may alſo be ſayed to haue abſolued his ſubiects in that Country from their allegiance vnto him, but before the Pope proceeded thus farre, he had vſed many other meanes for the Emperours reduction; and had procured to keep the *Italians* in ſubiection to him, who would haue reuolted vpon the firſt newes of his impious hereſy; the Emperour in the meane time not only remayning obſtinate, but alſo threatning the Pope, yea laying 6. diuers plots to kill him. But that of the *Lombards* is a moſt impudent lye; for the Popes were allway ſo farre from fauou-

ring them, that they sought by all meanes possible to represse them, both before the Emperour was depriued of *Italy* and after. For first when *Luitprandus* vpon the first newes of the Emperours falling to heresy, had seized vpon *Rauenna*, and driuen away the *Exarchate*, Pope *Gregory* the second wrote to the *Venetians*, to restore the *Exarchate*, and expell the *Lombards*, both which they performed at his motion and instance. Now what happened after in this kind will sufficiently appeare by only rehearsing what *Matthew Palmeus* briefely noteth in his Cronicle

Baron. an. 726. ex M. S. C. rerum Venet. And. Cand.

First then *anno* 735. which was 5. yeares after the Popes sentence, he writeth thus: *Luitprandus King of the Lombards besiegeth Rome, vpon which feare Pope Gregory craueth ayde of Carolus Father to Pipin &c.* In the yeare 750. thus *Pope Zachary so perswaded with Lachis (or rather Rachis) King of the Lombards, who was troublesom to Rome, that he forsooke his kingdome, and became a Monke.* In the yeare 753. *Astulfus King of the Lombards* (this was he that tooke *Rauenna*, from which *Luitprandus* had bin hindered by *Zachary* Pope) *indeuoureth to make the Romanes tributary vnto him; for which cause Pope Stephen going into France craued ayde of Pipin the French King.* Finally in the yeare 776. thus he writeth of the extirpation of the *Lombards* out of *Italy*: *Charles the King of France at the intreaty of Pope Hadrian, comming into Italy with a great army, ouercame the Lombards, and hauing besieged their King Desiderius at Pauia, finally tooke him, and together with his wife and children carryed him into France: for the renowme and glory of which action King Charles was exceedingly commended by Pope Hadrian, who had called him, and endewed with most ample priuiledges and titles.* Thus *Palmerius*, by which M. *Downams* impudent calumniation is manifest, who will needes haue the Popes to haue fauoured the *Lombards*, their chiefest enemyes; and whome they most of all impugned.

Baron. an. 743.

But yet M. *Downam* hath a deuise in his head; to turne all these endeauours of the Popes against the *Lombards* to another meaning; which I will examine in due place; and vntill then conclude this who'e discourse of the decay of the Empyre in the VVest: of which indeed it is true, that the Emperour *Leo* was wholy dispossessed for his heresy; but his

Why the Popes called the French into Italy.

his sonne *Constantinus* was not only permitted but defired also to defend it against the *Lombards*; and he being eyther negligent, or not able, the Popes were inforced to call in the Kinges of *France*, who partly with their glorious victories, and partly with their great piety diserued to be made Emperours of the VVest themselues. So that both the vpholding of the Empyre in the *VVest* till *Charles* the Great; and the renewing of it in him, is wholy to be attributed to the Popes. So far were they from being enemyes to the Empyre it self, as Antichrist shalbe; howsoeuer they were necessarily compelled to oppose themselues to some wicked Emperour. VVhich notwithstanding they also did, with such moderation, that they neyther deprined *Leo* of all his Dominions, nor renewed that sentence against his sonne, though they had iust cause; but were content, yea desyrous to haue had him preuayle against the *Lombards*, and expected him so long, that the matter was in a manner past recouery; and there was no other meanes left, but to haue recourse to the French, and implore theyr ayde.

How contrary the Popes are to Antichrist in vpholding the Roman Empyre.

5. But now it is high time for vs to see the application of all this long narration, and consider how well M. *Downam* maketh the reuelation of Antichrist, and the decay of the Empyre to meet. For though all this be altogeather impertinent, for the reasons already declared; yet we will not for this once let any thing, though neuer so extrauagant, goe vnexamined. First then *he maketh two degrees of the reuelation of Antichrist*; as he did before of the taking away of the Emperour. The first, *of his raigning, and shewing himselfe in his colours*; and of this also he maketh other *two degrees*. The first, *when he challenged supreme authority ouer the vniuersall Church, of Christ*, which (saith he) *he did, when the vsurped the title of vniuersall, or Oecumenicall Bishop, or head of the vniuersall Church*; which he will haue to haue bin done about the yeare 607. as is sayd before. VVhere we must note how well this first degree of Antichrists raigne agreeth to the first degree of the Empyre, ther being almost 200. yeares betwixt the one and the other, for I omit now to confute this assertion of Pope *Boniface* his assuming a new title or dignity; since

In Downams owne opinion the decay of the Empyre in the West, and the reuealing of Antichrist were at different tymes.

that

that it hath bin already disscused sufficiently; for now M. *Downam* bringeth no other proofe, but because *at that time besides other prodigious sightes, there appeared a terrible Comet*; which he will haue to be *a signe of Antichrists birth*. But this is too ridiculous, and not worth the standing vpon, except M. *Downam* can make any beleeue, that he is a Southsayer; for otherwise I suppose, that he will rather be accounted both a cold and a false Prophet. This then is *the very first degree* of Antichrists reuealing in M. *Downams* opinion. But yet, to preuent all inconueniences, he thought good to adde that the *seedes of Antichristianisme were sowen before this time, euen from the Apostles time, partly by heresyes and some declination in the Church of Rome in religion from the purity of the Primitiue Church; partly by the ambition of diuers of the Bishops of Rome, who aduancing themselues (as Socrates sayth) beyond the limits of Priesthood into forraine dominion, contended to haue the Primacy aboue all other Churches (& that is the chiefe scope of may of their Epistles Decretalls) & to the same end forged a Canon of the Councell of Nice, when their ambition was curbed by other generall Councells. And lastly by indulgences deuont Emperours and Princes, who haue by great deuotions and priuiledges aduanced that Church.* All this M. *Downam* calleth *the mystery of iniquity*, and *the preparation towards the birth of the great Antichrist*, that is of Pope *Boniface*, and his successours. But if you take away only the first, of heresyes, all the other are false, and feigned, as we shall presently see.

Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Heretikes the mystery of iniquity, and Antichrists fore-runners.

VVherefore it is only true, that euer since the Apostles time, the mistery of Iniquity hath bin working in diuers heresyes, as it is also at this day in the Protestants and other Sectaries, all which prepare the way for their Captaine Antichrist, and are his forerunners; which how much it maketh for M. *Downam*, I cannot easily perceyue. It rather seemeth to me to ouerthrow a great part of his doctrine, as I haue shewed vpon diuers occasions. But now I will willingly know, what this recitall of old heresyes maketh against the Church, and Pope of *Rome*, who haue alwaies bin as contrary to them all in their seuera'l times, and haue impugned and condemned them no lesse, then they do the Protestants and other heretikes at this day. And of the

I cannot ſee what doubt or controuerſy can be made, if we ſpeak of ſuch doctrines, as are acknowledged both by the Proteſtants and vs to be truly hereſyes. For if M. *Downam* meaneth other poſitions, which are holden by vs, as Catholike doctrines, he ſayeth nothing, but only practiſeth his accuſtomed figure called *petitio principij*. But I rather ſuppoſe that he calleth theſe, declynatiõs in religion, which he ſuppoſeth to haue bin in the Church of *Rome* from the begynning, though notwithſtanding it were a true Church; which perhaps he will not auouch of heareſayes, though of thoſe alſo heere he ſpeaketh doubtfully, and els where inclyneth much to that opinion, that hereſyes belong to the true Church of Chriſt. But this is to ioyne iuſtice and wickedneſſe, light and darknes, Chriſt and Belial, ſince that hereſy is abſolutely the worſt ſort of infidelity, as S. *Thomas* demonſtrateth 2. 2. *q.* 10. *art.* 6. Wherfore omitting hereſyes, which can by noe meanes be imbraced by the true Church, nor ſtand with fayth, let vs come to the declinations in religion; which we cannot eaſily conceyne to be any other in *M. Downams* opinion, then the foreſayd doctrines of the Catholike Church, now in controuerſy with Proteſtants, which we deny to be any declinations at all, and therefore he muſt not take the contrary as graunted, nor ground any argument thervpon, vntill he hath proued it, which he will neuer be able to doe: yea the authority of the Fathers, and of the Church which haue euer holden thoſe aſſertions, doth euidently conuince, that they are not declinations at all, but the very doctrine of the primitiue Church continued in all ages euer ſince. Neyther doe I think it neceſſary to ſtand any longer vpon this poynt in this place, ſince I intend only to anſwere M. *Downams* proofes, and he bringeth none at all to this purpoſe.

Hereſyes cannot belong to the true Church.

Now concerning the ambition of diuers of the Biſhops of *Rome*, which is the ſecond head of his accuſation, he produceth 3. arguments; firſt the authority of *Socrates*, who ſeemeth to affirme ſo much in the wordes alledged by *M. Downam*. But he abuſeth his Reader egregiouſly; for *Socrates* being a *Nouatian* himſelfe, findeth fault

with *S. Celestinus* (who was made Pope in the yeare 404. *S. Augustine* being then aliue) for taking away all the Churches from the *Nouatians*, which they had in *Rome*: which *S. Innocentius* had also begun to doe, as the same *Socrates* testifyeth *lib.7. c.9.* and *S. Ciril* in *Alexandria*, *ibidem c.7.* This displeased *Socrates*, and all other *Nouatians* very much, and therfore they repyned, that eyther the Bishop of *Rome*, or *Alexandria* should haue so great temporall authority; for of this he speaketh, and not *of the primacy aboue all other Churches*, as *M. Downam* falsely alledgeth him. Neyther doth he affirme, that the Popes *aduanced themselues*, but his wordes are these: *Grauis tum iracundiæ flamma contra eos insensa fuit, cùm Episcopatus Romanus, non aliter atq; Alexandrinus quasi extra sacerdotij fines egressus, ad secularem principatum erat iam amens delapsus.* Then a great flame of anger was enkindled against them (the *Nouatians*) when the Bishoprik of *Rome*, no otherwise then that of *Alexandria*, as it were going out of the bounds of priesthood, was before this tyme fallen to a secular princedome. Where we see many corruptions committed by M. *Downam*; for first he sayeth, *that the Popes aduanced themselues beyond the lymits of priesthood into forrain dominion*, whereas *Socrates* hath the quite contrary, to wit, that they were fallen to secular princedom, being gone out as it were of the lymits of priesthood; for he accounted it rather a fall then an aduancement, to haue secular power; and yet he durst not absolutely affirme, that this was to goe out of the lymits of priesthood, but addeth a (*quasi*, as it were) to mitigate this his censure. And it is very likely, that he would haue easily disgested the matter if this secular princedome had fallen vpon his *Nouatians*. But what meaneth *M. Downam* to translate *secularem Principatum*, *forreyne dominion*? Surely *Socrates* only meant secular or temporall power as is manifest by his whole complaynt; for the Bishops of *Rome* did only take away the Churches from the *Nouatians* in *Rome*, as *S. Ciril* had done in *Alexandria*; and he expoundeth himselfe sufficiently by telling vs, that the Popes had this secular Princedome, *non aliter*, no otherwise, then the Patriarches of *Alexandria*, of whome *c.7.* he writeth thus: *Ex illo tempore Episcopus Alexandrinus, prater sacri Cleri dominatum*

The reader much abused by Downam.

Downam corrupteth Socrates.

When the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria began to haue secular princedome.

rerum præterea ſæcularium Principatum acquiſiuit. From the time of S. *Ciril*) the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, beſydes the dominion of the holy Clergy, obteyned the princedome of ſecular affayres; where I would haue *M. Downam* to note two poynts out of *Socrates*; firſt that he ſeemeth rather to blame *S. Ciril* then the Biſhops of *Rome*; for of *S. Ciril* he ſayeth, that *aſſumpſit*, he tooke vpon him a greater princedome then euer *Theophilus* his vncle, and predeceſſour had: but he acculeth the Popes of no ſuch matter. The other is, that he acknowledgeth, that the Popes had this ſecular authority *iam antè*, before *S. Celeſtines* time; and though he telleth vs not how long, yet his wordes inſinuate ſome good ſpace, and by all probability it was aboue 100. yeares, for none is more likely to haue giuen them it, then *Conſtantine* the Great.

M. *Downams* ſecond argument for the Popes ambition, is, that *the chiefe ſcope of many of their Epiſtles Decretall, is the aduancing of themſelues* &c. But he ſhould haue done well to haue named of whoſe Epiſtles he ſpeaketh; for true it is, that out of them may be gathered cleare arguments for the Popes ſupremacy, which M. *Downam* will neuer be able honeſtly to auoyde; for theſe Popes were knowen to be Saints, and free from all ambition, but yet carefull to maintaine the authority, which Chriſt had giuen them for the gouernement of his Church, to which they were bound in conſcience. And it were ſtrange that *S. Auguſtine* and other holy men, which liued in thoſe dayes ſhould haue leſſe zeale, then M. *Downam* and his Mates, to haue noted the ambition of the Popes declared in their decretall epiſtles if there had bin any ſuch matter. But they were of a different ſpirit, that is humble, and ſubiect to all lawfull authority, ſuch as they knew this of the Popes to be; and not contentious and proud as theſe new maiſters are, and therfore cannot abyde any ſuperiority ouer them, which might curbe their Sathanicall preſumption. *Thirdly* (ſayth *M. Downam*) *the Popes to the ſame end forged a Canon of the Councell of Nice, when their ambition was curbed by other generall Councells*. But concerning this obiection he might haue peruſed *Bellarmine lib. 2. de Roman. Pont. c. 25.* where he anſwereth it at large,

The Popes decretall epiſtles teſtifie their Supremacy.

The Popes calumniated to haue forged a Canon.

shewing that neyther the Canons of the Councell of *Nice* which are now extant, are complete, and consequently, that they may want this, as well as others; and likewise that this very Canon which Pope *Zosimus* and his successours alledged, is verbatim and expressely conteyned in another generall Councell, which by diuers was wont to be annexed to the Councell of *Nice*, and that not without cause, as he there sheweth. M. *Downam* should haue gone about to haue replyed vpon those solutions of *Bellarmine*, or at least haue mentioned them, if he both knew them, and meant sincerely; for surely this his dealing argueth eyther grosse ignorãce or willfull malice. Now what those *Generall Councells were, which curbed the Popes ambition*, he mentioneth not, and it were hard for me to ghesse at his meãing, at least I should but loose my labour: wherfore I will saue it, and assure the Reader, that no lawfull Councell eyther generall or particuler impugned the Popes authority in any substantiall poynt; howsoeuer in the manner of vsing it, some might wish for some moderation to auoyde inconueniences, to whom the Popes were alway willing to yield so farre as eyther iustice or reason permitted.

Downam abuseth the best Christian Princes.

The last mystery of iniquity which M. *Downam* discouereth, is *by the indulgence of deuout Emperours and Princes, who haue by great deuotions and priuiledges aduanced the Roman Church*. And is not this a strange impudency, to make the best Christian Princes, the greatest promotours of Antichrist? Surely these deuout Emperours and Princes, which liued before the yeare 607. can be no other then *Constantine* the great, *Clodoueus* King of France, and the like, who indeed shewed great deuotion to the Church of *Rome*; and in that respect are by all good men thought to haue begun to fulfill that propheey of *Esay* c. 49. *Et erunt Reges nutricij tui & Reginæ nutrices tuæ: Vultu in terra demisso adorabunt te, & pulueren pedum tuorum lingent*; which other Catholick Emperours and Princes haue since that time more and more verifyed and some at this day cease not to performe; how much soeuer M. *Downam* and his crew storme to the contrary, as their like also did in former ages. But their malice cannot euacuate Gods promises, nor hinder his mercifull prouidenc

dence towards his Church and seruants.

6. Thus much for the first degree of Antichrists raygne, and for the mystery of iniquity, and preparations therunto, all which notwithstanding M. *Downam* telleth vs, *that Antichrist was but yet in his nonage, because the Pope was vnder the gouernment not only of the Emperour, but also for a tyme of the Emperours Liefetenant in Italy the Exarch of Rauenna, by whome the election of the Pope (made by the Clergy and people of Rome) was of necessity to be ratyfied and confirmed; vntill Benedictus the 2. obtayned this priuiledge from the Emperour* Constantine *the 4. called* Pogonatus, *that the election of the Pope by the Clergy and People of Rome, should be good, without the confirmation of the Emperour: vpon which priuiledge obteyned, the Pope began to care litle for the Emperour, holding himself hencefoorth to be ἀνόμος, or rather as the Apostle speaketh ἄνομος, without law and subiect to the iudgment of no man, as they professe in diuers of their Canons.* Thus he. This discourse alone is able to discouer to any discreet Reader the badnesse of M. *Downams* cause, since he is inforced to ioyne himselfe with hereticall and wicked Princes, in those very actions, for which they deserue most of all to be condemned. For true it is, that from *Theodoricus* the *Arian* King of the *Gothes* time, vntill *Constantinus Pogonatus*, for more then 100. yeares, most commonly the Kinges and Emperours of the East which gouerned the VVest Empyre, intruded themselues also into the election and confirmation of the Popes; but with open Iniustice, as is manifest by the very first vsurpation of this authority; for King *Theodoricus* hauing most vniustly put to death not only those most Christian and noble Senators *Symachus* and *Boetius*, but also *Iohn* then Pope; to secure his estate the more (for this is commonly the pretext of such vniust intrusiõs) he took vpõ him to name, and choose the next Pope; and though most craftily, to take away all cause of opposition, he elected *Felix* a man without all exception; yet not only the clergy, but also the senate and people of Rome made resistance almost two monethes, till at the length seeing no other remedy, they were constreyned to yield. And though God presently punished *Theodoricus* for this, and his other sinnes with a strange and tearfull death, yea with eternall damnation,

How the Emperours came to intermedle in the election of the Popes. *An.* 634.

2. *Thes.* 2. 8.

See Baron. an. 526.

as God reuealed to a holy man, and *S. Gregory* relateth *lib. 4. dial. c. 30.* Yet not only his succeſſour *Athalaricus* approued this fact, as appeareth by his epiſtle to the Senate, which is yet extant *apud Caſſiodor. lib. 8. ep. 15.* but alſo (as I haue ſayd) the Emperours themſelues hauing recouered *Rome* from the *Gothes*, thought it good policy, to reteyne this vſurped authority, at leaſt thus far, that though they permitted the Clergy to nominate and chooſe, yet they would not haue the elected to be taken for lawfull Pope, vntill he were confirmed by themſelues. But how vniuſt and vnconſcionable prooceding this was, appeareth ſufficiently by that which *S. Gregory* writeth in *pſalm. 4. pœnit.* to this purpoſe. *In tantum* (ſayth he) *ſuæ temeritatem extendit veſaniæ, vt caput omnium Eccleſiarum Romanam Eccleſiam ſibi vendicet, & in dominam Gentium terrenæ ius poteſtatis vſurpet: Quod omnino ille fieri prohibuit, qui hanc beato Petro Apoſtolo ſpecialiter commiſit.* The Emperour *Mauritius* (for of him he ſpeaketh) is come to that madde raſhneſſe, that he challengeth to himſelfe the Roman Church, the head of all Churches, and vſurpeth earthly authority ouer the Lady of Nations: which he altogeather forbad, who committed her ſpecially to the bleſſed Apoſtle *Peter*. And for the ſame cauſe he numbreth, a litle after, this Emperour with *Nero* and *Diocletian*, and eſteemeth him to be *one of the gates of hell*, which fight againſt Gods Church.

How vniuſtly the Emperours tooke vpon them to cõfirme the Popes election.

Now that which *M. Downam* addeth of the Exarches, is yet more abſurd; for he will hardly produce any examples of this their tyrannycall preſumption vntill *Conſtantinus Pogonatus* his time, whoſe ſonne indeed *Iuſtinian* they yonger, being neyther ripe in yeares nor ſound in religion, began to countermaund his Fathers iuſt & pious reſignation; and becauſe he was abſent himſelfe, committed the matter to his Exarch of *Rauenna*, who being ſo nigh, might preuayle by force againſt all iuſtice, and equity; as he endeuoured to doe in the election of the next Pope. For comming with his ſouldiers to *Rome*, he would haue ſet vp one *Paſchalis*, who had inuited him to that purpoſe, and in a manner hyred him, with the promiſe of an hundreth pound of gold, againſt Pope *Sergius*, who was already choſen by common conſen

Iuſtinian the yonger his tyranny againſt the Popes

conſent of the Clergy and people. But the matter was ſo farre gone, ere he came, that he could not pleaſure *Paſchalis*, but yet exacted the 100. pounds of Pope *Sergius*, who to declare the indignity of the fact the more, cauſed the lampes and crownes, which had bin a long time before the Altar, and *S. Peters* tombe, to be taken downe and giuen him for a gage and pawne. But this Emperour eſcaped not long vnpuniſhed; for going forward in his wickednesſe, and vrging Pope *Sergius* to confirme a falſe and hereticall Synod holden at *Conſtantinople*, and vpon the Popes refuſall, ſeeking to take him priſoner, and to haue him brought to *Conſtantinople*; the Pope by Gods great prouidence eſcaped, but the Emperour the next yeare was depoſed himſelfe, and hauing his noſe cut off was banniſhed, and ſo continued for the ſpace of 10. yeares: In which time this affliction teaching him more witte, he altered his mynd, and being reſtored to his Empyre, he returned to the Popes obedience; and putting out *Callinicus* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinoples* eyes (at whoſe perſwaſion he had before dealt ſo iniuriouſly with the Pope) he ſent him to *Rome* in baniſhment; and not long after moſt louingly inuited Pope *Conſtantine* to *Conſtantinople*, and receyued him with all courteſy and humility, and of his owne accord proſtrated himſelfe, and kiſſed the Popes feete, and after they imbraced one another. Which is the *great aduancing* that *M. Downam* obiecteth againſt Pope *Conſtantine* of himſelfe, both againſt and aboue the Emperour: Becauſe forſooth *he ſuffered the Emperour to kiſſe his feete.* But as all good men applauded this fact at that time, ſo now alſo all wiſe men will eaſily ſee, that the Pope had iuſt cauſe to admit his humiliation, both in reſpect of his owne authority, to which it was due; and of the Emperours former tyranny againſt Pope *Sergius*, which was to be latisfyed with a contrary act: though I cannot ſee, what the Emperour *Iuſtinian* did more in kiſſing the Popes feete, then the Prophet *Eſay* foretold in the place alledged a little before, and repeateth *c.* 60.

Cantharos & coronas.

His puniſhment

His repentance & humiliation.

Eſa. 49. *See Boz. de Sign. Eccleſ. Sign.* 86.

Next to this obiection of kiſſing the Popes feet, *M. Downam* bringeth the oppoſitiō of the ſame Pope *Conſtantine*, and the 2. *Gregories* his Succeſſours againſt two hereticall Empe-

Emperours *Philippicus Bardanes*, and *Leo Isaurus*, both which he will haue to haue impugned images; but he is much deceyued in the former, for he was a *Monothelite*, and was depoied from his Empyre 14. or 15. yeares, before any opposition against images began, which was in the yeare 723. by a *Iewish* sorcerer, who perswaded *Giridius* Prince of the *Saracēs* first to impugne them, as within two yeares after some of the same crue did *Leo Isaurus*; against whome the *Monothelite* heretikes (of which sect the Emperour *Philippicus* was) ioyned, together with the Catholikes; so farre were they from being of the same sect. Neyther can I imagine, vpon what occasion M. *Downam* should be so deceyued in *Philippicus*, except it were, that fynding how he had defaced certayn pictures, he forthwith apprehended, that they were the images of Christ and his Saynts; whereas indeed they were only the pictures of the 6. generall Councells, which he abhorred, as the destroyers of his heresy: whereas *Leo Isaurus* rather pretended, that they made for him, because in them there had bin no expresse decree made for the establishing of images. But Pope *Gregory* shewed him the folly of that obiection, by declaring vnto him, that the Councells vse only to establish such things, as haue bin called in question, of which sort this matter of images was not. Well, now wee are not to dispute this poynt of images, neyther must M. *Downam* suppose that worshipping of images is any spirituall fornication; for this were to runne to his accustomed figure of *petitio principij*; and it is little better to rehearse in particuler the opposition, that the Popes made against this hereticall Emperour; for no doubt they were bound to make as much, as they possibly could; first by spirituall censures, and when that would not serue, by temporall pummishements. And the reason why their predecessours did not as much, was eyther because the Emperours case was not so bad, or their meanes not so good. But now God prouided a remedy according to the disease, and therfor they were not to omit it, when other were not sufficient.

Philippicus Bardanes impugned not images.

Downams petitio principij.

To discusse that question of the Popes authority in deposing hereticall, wicked, or vnprofitable Princes, were now

now from my purpose. *M. Downam* may read what *Bellarmine* hath written therof *lib.* 5. *de Rom. Pontif.* Wherfore I shall not need to examine all the large narration which M. *Downam* here setteth Downe, but only such poynts therof, as we differ in; for I willingly graunt, that the Popes excommunicated and depoled *Leo Isaurus* from his deminions in *Italy*, as also *Childerik* King of France. Likewise that they committed *the tuition of the Church to Carolus Martellus*, and after to *Pipin* and *Charles* the Great; and that one cause why they made these worthy Princes, and their successours Kinges of *France*, and Emperours of the West, was their deuotion to the Church of *Rome*, and the assistance they gaue to the Popes in all their distresses. Neyther can I see what may be blamed in all these actiõs, except we will suppose, that eyther the Pope hath no authority to depose or appoynt Prices in some case; or that *Leo Isaurus*, and *Childerik* gaue not sufficient cause for their deposition; or finally that the Pope were not to respect the good of the Church, and the aduancement of Catholike religion in these greatest actions. All which or any of them, if M. *Downam* supposeth in his arguments, without endeuouring to proue it, he vseth his accustomed figure of *petitio principij*, and must in this place expect no other answere, then a flat denyall.

How the Popes may depose Princes and appoynt others.

Now concerning *Rome* it selfe, it is also very true, that it was gouerned by Dukes or Captaynes appoynted by the Emperour of the East, vntill this time of *Leo Isaurus*: but it neyther reuolted nor swore obedience to the Pope, vpon this Emperours deposition, but at least 4. yeares before it; for all agree that the sentence of deposition was not giuen against him, before the last yeare of *Gregory* the second, and *M. Downam* attributeth it to *Gregory* the 3. wheras the reuolt of *Rome* happened 4. yeares before *Gregory* the second his decease, vpon this occasion. The people of *Rome* being much auerted from the Emperour by reason of his heresy, would presently togeather with other partes of *Italy* haue reuolted from him, but they were all kept in obedience by the Pope, in hope of the Emperours recouery: who suspecting the quite contrary, attributed all the auersion, which he found in his subiects, to the Pope himselfe,

How Rome reuolted from the Emperour.

and therfore layed diuers plotes to bereaue him of his life; and a nong others incited the Duke or Captayn of *Rome*, to lay violent hand: vpon him: which being discouered, the *Romans* put the inferiour persons who were confederate in the attempt to death; but the Duke they only recluded in a Monastery, where he also ended his life. For the *Lombards* I haue already shewed, that the Popes neuer fauoured them, but were alway against them, both before and after the Emperours deposition.

The Popes fauoured not the Lombards.

Neyther is it sufficient for M. *Downam*, to shew, that the Emperour was deposed by the Pope, to inferre presently, that he eyther lycenced or inuited the *Lombards* to vsurpe his dominions in *Italy*; for these be two different thinges, the one priuatiue, and the other positiue. Wherfore the Pope did the first only without the second: for his intent was to punish the hereticall Emperour, but not to reward the *Lombards*. Wherfore he only deliuered the People of *Italy* from the Emperours yoke, and from theyr obligation to pay him tributes; and there he stayed without proceeding any further, or imposing any new burthen vpon them, by subiecting them to the *Lombards* or any other. And M. *Downam* himselfe doth in a manner confesse as much, by telling vs, *that the Pope intended the Exarchate to himselfe, and sought to rule ouer all Italy, as the Gothes had done*; which he could not possibly doe, if he had subiected the Exarchate, or any part of *Italy* to the *Lombards*, But this also is a meere fiction, that the Popes had any such intention; neyther is M. *Downam* able to produce any probable proofes therof; and the contrary appeareth plainly by the Popes proceedings in these occasions: for first Pope *Gregory* the third, after the Emperours deposition, in the first and third yeare of his Popedome sent to the Emperour, offering to restore him his rents and tributes in *Italy*, if he would forsake his heresy. And Pope *Zachary* for hauing defended the Exarchate of *Rauenna* from the tyranny of *Luitprandus* the *Lombard* King, was much esteemed by the Emperour *Constãtinus* sonne to *Leo*, & in reward receyued certein territoryes by the Emperours gift; by which it is manifest, that the Pope sought to reserue the Exarchat for the Emperour,

The Popes sought not to vsurpe Italy to themselues.

perour, if he proued Catholike, and not to vſurpe it for himſelfe. In like manner Pope *Stephen* who ſucceded to *Zachary*, ioyned his owne brother with the ſame Emperours Embaſſadour to *Aiſtulphus* the *Lombard* King (who had vſurped the Exarchate) for the recouery of the ſame; and not preuayling with the King, the next yeare after he ſent his Legates to the Emperour, requeſting him to deliuer both *Rome*, and the reſt of *Italy* from the *Lombards* tyranny. But fynding no redreſſe by this meanes, he was inforced to implore King *Pipins* ayde, and to fly himſelfe alſo into *France*; from whence both he and his ſucceſſours had ſuch reliefe, that *Italy* was deliuered from the *Lombards* tyranny, as alſo from the moleſtation of the Eaſterne Empyre: in which reſpects, and for the vniuerſall good of Chriſtendome, as the euent hath ſufficiently declared, King *Charles* was created Emperour of the Weſt.

Thus wee haue examined M. *Dournams* confuſed diſcourſe concerning the ſecond degree of Antichriſts reigning; and haue ſufficiently freed the Popes from his falſe calumniations, ſhewing how they were impugned vniuſtly by wicked Emperours and Princes, but alway protected by Gods prouidence, and at length preuayled againſt his and their enemyes, to the exaltation of the Catholike fayth, and alſo the renewing and erection of the Empyre it ſelfe. All which conteyning indeed a moſt glorious victory of Chriſt ouer his foes, and declaring the particuler care he hath of his Church, this man moſt fooliſhly, and malicioufly will needes wreſt to the quite contrary, making Antichriſt to fight and labour for Chriſt, againſt his owne chiefeſt friends and forerunners: But to theſe abſurdities hath hereſy brought him. Dournams abſurdityes,

Now let vs ſee how he goeth forward; and firſt he affirmeth, that to this *Charles* the Great *was committed, by Adrian and Leo, the confirmation of thoſe, which were elected to the Papacy*; which if it were true, argued no want of power or ſuperiority in the Popes in this behalfe; ſince that the Emperour preſumed not to intermeddle himſelf with their election, but by theyr owne graunt and permiſſion. But

now the truth is, that those two Popes committed no such matter vnto *Charles* the Great, as *Baronius* plainly conuinceth *anno Christi* 774. and 964. but that all this was a meere fiction of the schismatik *Sigebertus*, more then 300. yeares after Pope *Adrians* time, from whome *Gratian* and other later Authors tooke it, and therfore no meruayle, though M. *Downam* followed this common errour, who hath so many particuler of his owne: Though so farre as may be gathered by his wordes, he had made no great inquiry after the matter, but only taken it out of some note-booke; for he telleth vs not what *Adrian* or *Leo* these were; and seemeth to think, that they both liued after that *Charles* was created Emperour by *Leo* the 3. whereas indeed this Pope *Adrian* liued more then twenty yeares before: And this *Leo*, of whome *Sigebert* speaketh, was no true Pope, but intruded by the Emperour *Otho* and others, against *Iohn* the 12. whome they pretended to depose altogether vnlawfully, as the same *Baronius* proueth *anno Christi* 963. and the next yeare sheweth also, that he made no such constitutiō in the fauour of *Otho*, and much lesse of *Charles* (as M. *Downam* affirmeth) who was deceased more then 150. yeares before.

The Popes, Adrian and Leo commited not the confirmation of the elected Popes, to Charles the Great.

The rest which is obiected of the Popes causing the Emperour to sweare vnto him, his taking order for the election of the Emperour, appoynting 7. Electours, referring his coronation and confirmation of the election vnto himselfe, is true, if it be rightly explicated, and plainly conuinceth, that in those dayes the Christian world had another opinion of the Popes authority, then Protestants haue now a dayes. Neyther doth this argue, that the Pope subiected the Emperour to himselfe as his vassall, but only in spirituall causes, and to spirituall ends, in the manner that he and all other Christians were subiected to *S. Peter* and his successours by Christ himselfe; who also gaue them the disposition of both swordes, though after a different manner, as Catholike Deuines do largely explicate, and therfore their authority may fittely be named a monarchie. All which now is not to be proued by me, who am only to answer M. *Downams* argu-

How the Emperour is subiect to the Pope

ments

ments when he bringeth any, and to deny his false suppositions, when he maketh them without proofe, as now he doth these, vsing his ordinary figure of *petitio principij* for want of better stuffe.

And whereas he further affirmeth, *that Antichrist came to his full growth in the time of Pope Gregory the 7. because, as Auentine sayth, he first established the Pontificall Empyre, which his successours held for the space of 450. yeares (that is to Auentine, and also Luthers time:)* this deuise is sufficiently disproued by that which hath byn sayd; since that, as *M. Downam* himselfe acknowledgeth, diuers Popes lōg before exercised the same authority, though indeed none of them found so great resistance both in Prince and People; and consequently it is no meruayle, though this Pope laboured so much in this matter, and was driuen into so great straites by the Emperour, especially since that he suffered himselfe to be deluded with this Emperours humiliation. Yet notwithstanding it is most true, that though himselfe were much afflicted, yet his successours enioyed the victory, and were alway after acknowledged to haue that power which *Henry* the 4. sought to abolish, and *Gregory* the seauenth endeuoured to establish, as due to him and his successours, as had byn acknowledged in former times to his predecessours. Lib. 5. *Annal*

Neyther doth *Auentines* mislike therof, which he sheweth in the wordes following, any thing diminish the Popes authority, since that he is not more ancient, then *Luther* himselfe by *M. Downams* owne confession, and therfore in that respect deserueth as litle credit in any thig he sayth against the Pope; except we will free *Auentine*, and charge *Cisnerus*, who caused his history to be printed at *Basil anno* 1580. taking vpon him only to restore it according to the originall, which *Zieglerus*, who first published *Auentines* history, had altered in many places, as he himselfe acknowledgeth. By which meanes, no doubt he gaue *Cisnerus*, or any other ill mynded man, great scope to write what it pleased them against all Ecclesiasticall persons; and to father it all vnder the name of those inuectiues, which *Zieglerus* sayth he omitted in *Auentine*. And

What is to be thought of Auentines history.

that *Cisnerus* vsed some such art, may in part be feared, for that he omitted in his edition, the particuler note of some thinges changed by *Zieglerus*, which was added before, as appeareth by *Zieglerus* his Preface, which *Cisnerus* hath, as also diuers epistles of other men, only omitting that particuler note, which made most of all to the purpose and to the iustification of his edition. But howsoeuer this be, which must rely vpō *Cisnerus* his credit & honesty, surely me thinks his diligence was very small, since as he himselfe protesteth in his preface, he trusted wholy and only vpon a copy sent vnto him out of an old library of *Oswald Eccius Auentine* his scholler: which in my opinion is but a slender ground to buyld soe many calumniations vpon, as are now found in *Auentines* history; which most certaynly eyther discouer *Auentine* to haue bin an heretike, if they be his owne, or that his booke hath byn corrupted by some heretike, if they be inserted since, which later seemeth to me the more probable for diuers reasons. But the difference is not of such importance, that I shall need to stand much vpon it. Neither is *Auentines* credit so great, that he is altogether to be cleared.

When Auētines authority is any thing worth.

7. I haue stood the longer about *Auentine*, because M. *Downam* and other Protestants make so great account of his authority, whereas indeed it is nothing at all to be esteemed of except he bringeth vs other auncient and authenticall authors which affirme the same. But this he is not able to doe in any thing, which he affirmeth against the Pope; and therfore that relation, which M. *Downam* obiecteth out of him, that the Bishops of *Germany* affirme *Gregory* the 7. to be Antichrist, is of no credit at all, since that no authour before *Auentine* maketh mention of any such matter. And certayn it is, that all the Bishops of *Germany* did not teach that impious doctrine, since that *Auentine* himselfe, euen in this very place which M. *Downam* alledgeth, nameth 5. which fled into *Saxony* for defending Pope *Gregory* against the Emperour; and no doubt there were many more, as well in *Saxony* it selfe, as in other parts of *Germany*, that ioyned with them. Soe that these Bishops of *Germany*, which M. *Downam* speaketh of, could only

The Bishops of Germany slaundered by Downam.

only be ſuch ſchiſmaticall, and turbulent Prelates, as for worldly reſpects tooke part with the Emperour gainſt the Pope. But indeed, to me *Auentine* ſeemeth not to ſpeake of any Biſhop at all: ſurely his wordes are generall, and may as well be vnderſtood of others, as of Biſhops, as whoſoeuer ſhall looke vpon the place, will eaſily graunt. *pag.* 455.

I might alſo adde, that by Antichriſt they vnderſtand not the chiefe Antichriſt himſelfe, but only a forerunner like vnto him in ſome thinges, as in their opinion Pope *Gregory* was in vſurping more authority then was due vnto him, and in ſitting in *Babylon*, and in the Church of God. All which and eſpecially this later ſmelleth ſo ſtrongly of a Proteſtant ſpirit, that any wiſe man will eaſily perceyue, that it is but a feigned ſpeach framed by ſome new Ghoſpellers, and attributed eyther to the Biſhops or people in Pope *Gregoryes* tyme; and how fooliſhly and falſely they ſpeak, hath already in due places byn ſufficiently declared. And by this we may alſo perceyue, who thoſe *good, open hearted, iuſt, ingenuous and ſingle hearted men were, that Auentine* (or ſome other in his name) *ſayth, did write in thoſe dayes, that the Empyre of Antichriſt did then begin.* And ſurely eyther theſe *good, open hearted men* were very few, or els their bookes had very ill luck, that M. *Downam* could meet with none of them now, but is forced to runne 60. yeares further for his next witneſſe. Fayne he would haue fathered this aſſertion vpon *Sigebert* the ſchiſmatik, but yet he doth it fearfully, as being reprehended by his owne conſcience; for indeed he may as well attribute the whole narration which followeth to *Sigebertus*, as this clauſe which ſpeaketh of Antichriſt. *See part.* 1. *c.* 13. *pag.* 470.

Neither Sigebert nor other authors of that tyme tooke the Pope to be Antichriſt.

And it is manifeſt, that *Auentine* hauing alledged *Sigebertus* to another purpoſe wanting other authors, but not will to calumniate the Pope in a higher degree, added this generall clauſe of all the *good, open harted men*, out of his owne malignāt mynd againſt the Pope. And perhaps he added this clauſe in this ſort immediately after *Sigeberts* teſtimony, that the ſimpler ſort might ſuppoſe that *Sigebert* had

had affirmed this also. But M. *Downam* being a Doctour should haue cleared this doubt, by looking vpon such places, as *Auentine* could take *Sigeberts* wordes from, in which he should haue found, that *Sigebert* wrote no such thing; yet I confesse that M. *Downam* deserueth some commendation of sincerity in casting the doubt, whereas the lying *Catalogue of VVitnesses* printed by *Iames Stoer*, and *Iam Chouet* 1608. neuer sticketh at the matter, but alledgeth this whole place out of *Auentine*, as *Sigeberts* testimony.

Catalogus testium veritatis.

M. *Downams* second witnesse is the Bishop of *Florence*, who (as he noteth in the margent) *anno* 1119. in the tyme of *Paschalis* the 2. preached, *that Antichrist was come, meaning* (sayth he) *the Pope*. Where first we acknowledge, that in that Popes tyme there was a Bishop of *Florence* indeed, who as *Platina in vita Paschalis* 2. sayth, was wont to affirme *Antichristum natum esse*, or as *Genebrard* relateth out of *Sabel. Enead. 9. lib. 3. iam tum natum esse*, that Antichrist *was borne at that very time*. Wherfore M. *Downam* to make this 2. witnesse to agree with his first, wisely chaunged the Bishops testimony, making him only to say, in his time Antichrist was come; as though he had thought, that his Empyre was begun before vnder *Gregory* the 7. But I meruaile much where M. *Downam* found, that this Bishop by Antichrist meant the Pope; surely this is only his owne fond imagination without any probable coniecture at all. And the litle account, that the Pope made therof, sheweth sufficiently, that there was no such matter; for as *Platina* writeth, Pope *Paschalis* vnderstanding, what this Bishop gaue out, went in person to *Florence*, and called a Councell of aboue 300. Bishops as *Matthaus Palmeri* writeth *in Chron.* supposing as it seemeth, that so great a Prelate would not giue out such a report in so weighty an affayre without some sufficient ground; But (sayth *Platina*) *re admodum discussa, cùm leuitate quadam vt alicuius magnarei auctor videretur, motum Episcopum cerneret, hominem verbis castigatum dimittit*; the matter being throughly examined, when the Pope perceyued that the Bishop was moued with

Anno 1119. The Bishop of Florence did not think the Pope to be Antichrist.

with a certayne leuity, that he might seeme the author of some great thing, he dismissed him, hauing first giuen him a good reprehension.

Genebrard sayth, that the Bishop was moued by the daily wonders which happened at that time, which indeed was great lightnesse, especially since they were such, as might haue naturall causes, as *Platina* well noteth, affirming, also, that Pope *Paschalis* perceyued them to be such, and therfore was not moued with them. But doth *M. Downam* think, that the Pope would haue let the Bishop escape with a bare reprehension, if ther had byn any likly-hood, that he had meant him to be Antichrist? I know he taketh not the Popes to be so patient; but here I would haue him also note, that this doctrine, that Antichrist was come in those dayes, was altogether new and strange, and therfore could not haue byn so common the yeares before, as *M. Downam* with his friend *Auentine* would make vs beleiue.

Of *Honorius Augustodunensis* I cannot say much, for that I haue not seene his booke, and *M. Downam* alledgeth not his wordes. But I suppose *the Catalogue of witnesses* omitteth not any which make against the Pope, as appeareth sufficiently by the diligence in this kind vsed through the whole booke, and speaking of *Honorius* in particuler, it affirmeth, that *he doth not obscurely shew, that the Pope and his Clergy are the very Babilon of the Apocalyps*; which notwithstanding is not altogether so much, as *M. Downam* auoucheth, saying; that *Honorius applyed the propheſyes of the Apocalyps concerning Antichrist, to the Pope and Church of Rome*. And yet in all that, which the *Catalogue* rehearseth, neither the Pope, nor *Rome* is once named: but only the Cittyzens of *Babylon* grieuously reprehended. By which rather the company of the wicked in all estates, and degrees, then the Pope and Church of *Rome* seeme to be signifyed; & where *Honorius* sayth: *intuere principes eius & iudices*, and in the Catalogue by a parenthesis is added (*nempe Cardinales, Archiepiſcopos &c.*) he rather seemeth to speak of secular Princes and iudges, then of Ecclesiasticall Prelates. For presently after he addeth, *Vae te ad Clerum*, by which it seemeth plainly, that before

Anno 1120. Honorius Augustodunensis slaundered by Downam and Catalogus testium.

he speake only of the laity: but howsoeuer this be, certeynly *Honorius* condemneth not either the Laity or clergy in generall, but only the wicked of both sortes, which he sayth belong to *Babylon*, and the Citty of the beast, which is most true, and in effect the same which *S. Augustine* affirmeth in his bookes *de ciuitate dei*, whether by the beast he vnderstandeth the Diuell himselfe or *Antichrist*; for to them both do all the wicked belong as their members and fore-runners. Neither doth this testimony and reprehension of *Honorius* more testify, that Antichrist was come in his dayes, then the like of other writers in all ages; for there neuer wanted wicked in all degrees, which deserued the like reprehensions.

Anno 1140.

S. Bernard abused by Dow. nam.

The next witnesse, that M. *Downam* bringeth, is *S. Bernard. serm. 33. in Cant.* and *serm. 1. in conuers. Paul.* where (sayth M. *Downam*) *he in his time acknowledgeth a generall apostasy and complayneth of the state of the Churches Antichristian.* But *S. Bernard* only complayneth of the wickednesse of the Christians in his dayes, and expressely affirmeth euen in those very places, that the Church was neyther oppressed with the persecutiō of Tyrants, nor assaulted with the subtelties of heretikes, but only afflicted with the hypochrisy and wicked life of her owne children; and he also expressely affirmeth, that Antichrist whom he expoundeth to be *damonium meridianum* was not yet come; *Superest* (sayth he) *vt iam de medio fiat*, it remayneth that the midday diuell be reuealed; where also he plainly saith that there wanted not simple and humble men in the Church at that time.

S. Bernard writeth most religiously of the Pope.

Wherfore he was far from imagining the Pope to be Antichirst, since he acknowledged the Pastours of his time to be his prelates and the maisters of the Churches; how soeuer by their euill life they might seeme to serue Antichrist, and be his fore-runners. And of the Pope in particuler he writeth so reuerently and religiously, as scarce any Catholike at this day can exceed him in that kynd; for *lib. 2. de consider.* he calleth the Pope *Eugenius*, who had byn one of his schollers; *the great Priest, the chiefest Bishop, the Prince of Bishops, the heire of the Apostles; in primacy Abell, in gouernement Noy; in patriarcheship Abraham; in order Melchisedech, in dignity Aaron, in authority*

authority Moyſes; in iudgement Samuel, in power Peter, in vnction Chriſt; And a litle after he concludeth, *Nec modo ouium, ſed & paſtorum tu vnus omnium paſtor*, that the Pope is not only the *paſtour of the sheepe but alſo of all sheapheards*; and *lib.* 3. he affirmeth, *That whoſoeuer would fynd any thing not belonging to the Popes care muſt go out of the world*; and finally he concludeth his 4. booke, calling the Pope *the guide of Chriſtians, the paſtour of the people, the punisher of wickedneſſe; the feare of the euill, the hammer of Tyrants; the Father of Kinges, the moderatour of lawes, the diſpenſer of Canons, the ſalt of the earth, the light of the world, the prieſt of the moſt high, the Vicar of Chriſt, the Chriſt of our Lord, the God of Pharao.* Is not this a fit witneſſe think you, to proue the Pope to be Antichriſt?

After *S. Bernard*, commeth *Ioannes Sariſburienſis*, who indeed reprehendeth ſharply the euill Prelates of his tyme, and among them the Popes themſelues, but yet he himſelfe teſtifyeth, that all were not ſuch: and as for errours in fayth he accuſeth none; neither can I fynd the name eyther of Antichriſt or *Babylon* in all that, which *Catalogus teſtium* alledgeth; which notwithſtanding is not wont to omit any ſuch thing, that may ſeeme to make ſo much againſt the Pope. *Anno* 1157. Ioannes Sariſburienſis.

Petrus Bleſenſis (ſayth M. *Downam*) wrote, *that Rome is that very Babylon, wherof Iohn ſpeaketh in the Apocalips*; but he alledgeth no place at all; and *Catalogus teſtium*, which is no leſſe diligent, then M. *Downam*, could fynde no ſuch matter: only it bringeth an epiſtle *ad quendam officialem* (*vt vocant epiſcopi viz. Carnotenſis*; in which (*ſayth the Catalogue*) *Petrus Bleſenſis admoniſheth that officer, to forſake that office preſently: hortatur quoq; vt exeat ex illa Babylone*; *he exhorteth him alſo to goe out of that Babylon*; that is to leaue that office, as appeareth moſt plainly throughout the whole epiſtle, which *Catalogus teſtium* reciteth at large, and is the 25. among *Bleſenſis* his epiſtles; Now if I would go about to ſhew how reuerently this Author wrote of the Pope, it were an endleſſe labour, & alſo needleſſe, and therfore I will content my ſelfe with that which he wrote to Pope *Celeſtine* in *Eleanor* the Queene of *England*, and mother to king *Richard* the firſt, her name; where in part imitating *S. Bernard* he vſeth ſome of the *Anno* 1157. Petrus Bleſenſis much abuſed. *Epiſt.* 144.

same epithets; calling the Pope, *Vicegerent of him that was crucified, the successour of Peter, the Priest of Christ, the Christ of our Lord*, also *the God of Pharao*, with much more which I omit; See *Protest. Apol. an.* 1608. *pag.* 328. *in marg.*

Anno. 1309. Gerardus and Dulcinus.

Now follow *Gerardus*, and *Dulcinus Nauarrensis*, who (sayth M. Downam) *did preach, that the Pope is Antichrist, and that the Clergy and Prelats of Rome, were the very whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalyps. Catalogus testium* maketh also mention of these two witnesses, calling the former *Gerhardus Sagarelli Parmensis*, and telling vs, that the Papists account them both Arch-heretiks, and charge them with promiscuous lusts, and other opinions which seeme incōmodious euen to the Authors of the Catalogue, & therfore they out of their charity to these men (as being their nigh kinsemen) doe not believe those reportes, but rather think, that they were falsely raysed by the papists: But they imagine, that these two receyued some seedes of more holsome doctrine from the *VValdenses*; which cannot well stand with *M. Downams* account, who putteth these two some yeares before those others; for which he quoteth *Iohn Fox*; and it may very well be a part of his lying history; but the truth is, that they liued aboue a hundred yeares after the *VValdēses*, as both *Catalogus testium*, and other authors note. And as for their testimony we make that account of it, that is to be made of what arch-heretikes say against Gods Church, and the true and lawfull Pastours therof. See *Prateolus*, and *Bernardus Lutzenburgus*.

Downam erreth in his account.

Anno 1170. The Waldenses.

After *Gerardus* and *Dulcinus* come the *VValdenses*, the Protestants chiefe Patriarches, who indeed held many of those heresyes, which the Protestants haue renewed, but not all; as also they held some things, which the Protestāts cōdēne: but in impugning the Pope, and railing against him they both agree; and we take it to be no infamy, but rather a great honour for our chiefe Pastour to be so reuiled by such infamous heretikes, and capitall enemyes to God, and his Church.

Ioachim Abbas.

In the next place *M. Downam* bringeth *Ioachim* the Abbot, answering *Richard* the first King of *England*, concer-

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ning Antichriſt thus: *Hee is already borne in the Citty of Rome, and is aduaunced in the Sea Apoſtolike*; where firſt M. *Dournam* is miſtaken, in ſaying, that King *Richard* propoſed this queſtion of Antichriſt to *Ioachim*: for *Houeden* ſaith not ſo; but that the King was delighted with hearing him explicate the viſions of the Apocalyps, and that now and then he would caſt a doubt, as occaſion was offered, which he did alſo in this place; for hearing *Ioachim* ſay, that Antichriſt was then borne in the Citty of *Rome*: *conuerſus ad eum Rex ait*: *Futabam &c.* the King looking vpon him (as admyring that new expoſitiō) ſaid, *I thought that Antichriſt ſhould haue byn borne in Antioch or Babylon &c.* recyting the common opinion of Catholikes; to which *Houeden* metioneth not any reply made by the Abbot, but only goeth forward in the expoſition of *S. Iohns* viſions; and at the end ſheweth, how two Archbiſhops, and two Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticall men well learned in the Scripture, impugned this expoſition of *Ioachim*: and *Houeden* himſelfe confuteth it at large. And ſurely it is a ſtraunge one indeed; for *Ioachim* will haue the 7. heades of the beaſt *Apoc.* 17. to be *Herod*, *Nero*, *Conſtantius*, *Mahomet*, *Melſemutus*, *Saladinus*, and *Antichriſt*: which expoſition I ſuppoſe *M. Dournam* himſelf will not admit; ſpecially ſince that *Ioachim* giueth vs no reaſon for what he ſaith; only he interpreteth *Saladinus* to be the 6. becauſe *S. Iohn* ſayth, *vnus eſt*, one is now; which *Ioachim* very ſtrangely, and without all ground vnderſtandeth of the tyme, wherin himſelfe liued; as *M. Dournam* referred that *non eſt*, which *S. Iohn* hath of the beaſt, to the times of *Auguſtulus*, as I haue ſhewed before: but both of them very abſurdly as is manifeſt, for *S. Iohn* ſpeaking in the preſent tenſe, cannot with any probability be vnderſtood of any other time, then of that, in which himſelfe liued and wrote.

in Richardo 1.

Ioachims expoſitiō of the 7. Kings Apoc. 17. confuted.

See c. 2. n. 9.

And by this we may coniecture, that *Ioachim* had but very litle reaſon, to make any that was borne in *Rome* at that time to be Antichriſt; neither doth *Houeden* make mention of any ground at all. And this perhaps might ſuffice for this teſtimony; but yet it will not be amiſſe to adde, that *Ioachim* is by ſome hardly cenſured for ſome aſſertions and propheceyes, as may be ſeene in *Alphonſus à Caſtro. lib. 3. ad-*

Ioachim hardly cenſured by ſome.

uersus hereses; & the 2. generall Lateran Councell sub. Inno. 3. can. 3. Prateolus and others. And yet none of them chargeth him with this assertion of Antichrist; yea that which is more (as Bellarmine well obserueth) in his exposition vpon the Apocalyps which is extant, he hath no such thing; but the quite contrary, for in his epistle before that booke, he submitteth it to the Iudgement of the Apostolike sea: and saith that he certainly believeth, that the gates of hell cannot preuayle against the Roman Church, and that her fayth shall neuer perish, vntill the end of the world: and the like he repeateth explicating the 7. text of the 2. Chapter, and in the exposition of the 11. text of the 6. Chapter, he writeth thus: whosoeuer impugne the Church of Peter with deedes or forces, let them feare themselues to be the children of Babylon. Finally in the exposition of the 2. text of the 7. Chapter, by the Angell which ascendeth from the sunne rising, and hath the signe of the liuing God, he vnderstandeth the Bishop of Rome, who with his fellow-Bishops, shall arme the elect with the signe of the Crosse, in that last tribulation, viz. which Antichrist shall rayse.

append. ad lib. de Summo Pont. c. 11.

Ioachims testimony of the Church of Rome.

Ioachims meaning probably explayned.

So that this whole relation of Houeden may be questioned; or at least it is out of question, that Ioachim meant not the true, and lawfull Bishop of Rome, but perhaps some vsurper which he feared in his tyme, and of whome (as Bellarmine noteth in the same place) he speaketh in the exposition of the 11. text of the first chapter; and it was a certeyn Prince of the Pataren Heretikes, whome they called suum Apostolicum, their Apostolike; yea it may be also, that his meaning was nor so much to interpret the Scripture, as to applye it to his purpose, which was to shew King Richard, who were the chiefest enemyes of Gods Church in that time; and surely both the King and the Bishops, and other learned men, would haue made more demonstration of dislike against Ioachim, if they had conceyued, that he had meant the true and lawfull Pope of that time whom they did all reuerence so highly; and King Richard was then going to Ierusalem at the Popes procuremẽt, and had commended his kingdom to the Popes protection; so far was this King from imagining him to be Antichrist.

See the answere to the Reportes of Syr Edward Cooke. chap. 9 §. 11.

And

And this shall suffice for this matter; though I might also put M. *Downam* in mynd, that *Houenden* sayth not, that this Antichrist was then aduaunced in the Sea Apostolike, as he affirmeth; but *in sede Apostolica sublimabitur*. But this is not worth the standing vpon, as neyther those German verses lately published at *Francoford*, *Catalogus testium* telleth vs: for we know, that there haue byn many prety toyes printed in that place of late, which are of very litle credite; and may well be thought to belong to later writers, then the titles make shew of. Some doubt there may also be made, how this *Ioachim* came to be so good a *German* poet, being in *Calabria* but inough of this.

Ioachims German verses.

Concerning *Eberhardus Archiepiscopus Iunasensis*, or *Archymistes Iuuanensis*, as *Auentine* calleth him, or *Salisburgensis* as *Catalogus testium*, and others; for all is one, since that *Iuuania* is the old name of *Salisburgium*, as *Auentine* himselfe noteth *lib.* 2. *pag.* 76. I shall not need to say much, hauing already spoken sufficiently of *Auentine* and his inuectiues, and as *Bellarmine* sheweth no other history, but his maketh mention of this speech against the Pope; and though they had, it had byn no marueyle, if in so great opposition, as was at that time betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, some had fallen to those bitter tearmes; for in such cases we must not so much consider what men say in their rage and fury, as what reason they haue for that they say. Now then that Pope *Gregory* the 9. his cause was farre better, then that of the Emperour *Frederikes* the 2. *Bellarmine* conuinceth by the testimony of 3. *German* Historiographers, and otherwise the Emperours frends, to which I also remit myselfe.

Eberhardᵘˢ Archiepiscop. Salisburg. lib. 7. *Anno* 1241.

Append. ad lib. de summo pontif. c. 10.

Robert Grosthead Bishop of *Lincolne* hath indeed those wordes which *M. Downam* alledgeth; but it is euident, that by the name of Antichrist he meant not the chiefe Antichrist but any that is opposite to Christ, as the wordes themselues doe manifestly declare; for no doubt many besyde the Chiefe Antichrist doe destroy soules as all heretikes, persecutours, euill Prelates and Princes &c. And in the same place this Bishop graunteth, that some Popes are saued. *Absit* (sayth he) *dicere contrarium*. Wherfore all that can

Robert Grosthead Anno 1253.

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be gathered hence is, that this *worthy Bishop* had great Zeale, and deserued very well that commendation, which *Matthew Paris* giueth him: *Domini Papæ & Regis redargutor manifestus*; an open reprehender both of Pope and King &c. But whether he did not some tymes exceed, and so had *zelum, sed non secundum scientiam*, I remit to the iudgement of others. Surely the argument which he bringeth against the Pope in the place alledged by M. *Downam* is very slender: for, to proue that the later Popes cannot recall the priuiledges, which were graunted by the former, he denyeth that the Pope liuing is equall to them which are deceased and be in heauen; which as euery man will easily see, is a playn sophisticall deceyt; for the Popes make no lawes, nor graunt priuiledges, when they are in heauen, but while they are vpon earth.

Matth. Paris. in Henrico 3.

Guilielm. de Sancto Amore.

As for *Guilielmus de Sancto Amore*, wee read indeed, that he was a great enemy to begging Fryars, and that he would haue had all religious men, which had no lands of their owne, to haue gotten their liuing with their owne labour; and like inough that in heat of argument he might say, that all those which did otherwise did belong to Antichrist. But that he neyther included all Monkes nor Priestes in this his censure, is most manifest; yea it seemeth that he was a Priest himselfe; for in his time few were admitted to be readers in Diuinity, but Priests. And this *william* was reader in *Paris*; he was also a preacher, and a Canon, as *Catalogus testium* writeth. Likewise it is playn, that he meant not the Pope to be Antichrist, since that he submitted himselfe to his iudgement, and went to *Rome* himselfe about the contention, which he had with the religious men of *S. Dominickes* order, and preuayled so farre, as it was reason he should.

See Bellarmine lib. 2. de monarch. c. 41. 42. & 45. Anno 1260.

See Matth. Paris. in Henric. 3. pag. 1254.

Laurence an English man. *Anno 1290.*

That *Laurence* an Englishman, which M. *Downam* bringeth next, is also mentioned by *Catalogus testium*, but not sayd to haue *proued the Pope to be Antichrist, and the synagogue of Rome the great Babylon*, as M. *Downam* affirmeth: but only to haue taken part with *Guilielmus de Sancto Amore*; to which effect he wrote two bookes, the title of the one was, *Cauendum esse à Pseudoprophetis*, and of the other, *Defensa*

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Guilielmi de Sancto amore, and certeyne other; in all which (sayth the *Catalogue*) he sheweth by many signes, and witnesses, *adesse Antichristum proximis, that Antichrist was nigh at hand*; by which it appeareth, that this *Laurence* was not of M. *Downams* mynd, who thinketh, that he was come and reuealed long ere this. But how any can collect that this *Laurence* tooke the Pope to be Antichrist, I cannot any way coniecture. M. *Downam* citeth in his margent *Io. Fox*; which is a very bare proofe, or rather none at all.

M. *Downam* goeth from *Fox* to *Auentine*, and out of him he fetcheth *Menardus Tyrolius*, calling *the Popes effeminate Antichristes in a publike edict*. But this edict seemeth to be of *Auentines* owne making, if these wordes be set downe by him as part of an edict, which is doubtfull. But taking the tale, as *Auentine* himselfe telleth it, this *Menardus Tyrolius* held by force the Castles of the Bishop of *Treuers*, and made continuall warre against *Henry* Bishop of that place. After whose death he also refused to deliuer the Castles to his successour: for which cause being excommunicated, he tryeth out, that he is mightily wronged, as standing only in his owne defence, and offering equall conditions; and withall (as *Auentine* sayth) calleth the Bishops in general *effeminate Antichristes*: But yet prouoking or appealing, *à Leuo, & illi iniquo pontifice, ad æquum Pastorem, pientissimumq; patrem*; by which later it may seeme, that he meaneth the Pope; for presently after *Auentine* addeth: *Inter hæc dum illa ad Pontificem Romanum referuntur, ipse animam efflat*; At least it is manifest that he thought, that eyther the Pope then liuing might be an equall Pastour, and a most pious father, or some of his successours; which any, that take the Pope to be properly Antichrist, will hardly graunt. And surely here is great heed to be taken to the furious wordes of an angry Prince vttered in a rage; and they are a fit argument to proue such a conclusion as this is.

Menardus Tyrolius *anno* 1290.

Michaell Cesenas. *See S. Anton. in 4. part. Sum. c. 7. tit. 11. Anno* 1322.

Michael Cesenas Generall of the Gray-Fryars held diuers errours and heresyes, especially against the authority of the Pope, and therfore he is as good a witnesse, as M. *Downam* himselfe might be; and yet he seemeth not to haue

haue ſpoken of the chiefe and proper Antichriſt.

Neyther is *Hayabobus* the Gray Fryar any better, who ſurely had a good ground for his impudency, in that he had a viſion to warrant his hereticall aſſertions; and he ſpake in the ſame ſenſe.

Hayabatus Anno. 1345.

True it is alſo that *VVilhelmus Occanenſis*, alias *VVilliam Occam*, wrote ſpitefully againſt the Pope in fauour of the Emperour; but he being, or at leaſt profeſſing himſelfe a Catholik, I can hardly beliue, that he would call the Pope Antichriſt, except I ſee it more authentically proued, then by *Auentines* bare aſſertion. And ſure it is, that he could not meane, that the Pope was the proper and chiefe Antichriſt, as M. *Downam* doth.

Ocam. Auent. Anal. Baron. lib. 7.

Wherfore omitting theſe let vs come to *S. Briget* whom (as M. *Downam* truly noteth) *we worship as a canonyzed Saynt*; and yet hold not all that ſhe ſayth for Canonicall ſcripture. She (as *M. Downam* affirmeth) *called the Pope a Murtherer of ſoules, more cruell then Iudas, more vniuſt then Pilate, worſe then Luciſer himſelfe*; And ſhee giueth the reaſon of all this, which *M. Downam* omitteth; for *Iudas* only ſould our Sauiour; but the Pope, of whome ſhee ſpeaketh did not only ſell him, but alſo the ſoules of his elect. And *Pilate* condemned none but our Sauiour to death; but the Pope did not only condemne him, as though he were Lord of nothing, and worthy of no good thing; but alſo he condemned innocent ſoules & pardoned the wicked. Finally *Luciſer* enuyed our Sauiour & deſyred to kill none but him, that he might rule in his place, but the Pope did not only kill our Sauiour, ſeparating him from himſelfe by his euill worke but alſo killing ſoules by his euill example: yea ſhe addeth alſo, that the Pope was more abhominable then the *Iewes* (which *M. Downam* wholy paſſeth ouer in ſilence) becauſe they only crucifyed our Sauiours body; but the Pope crucifyed and punniſhed the ſoules of his elect, to whome the Popes malice and tranſgreſſion was more bitter then any ſword.

S Briget Anno. 1370. lib. 1 reuelat. cap. 41.

Now if you aſke *M. Downam* why he omitted all theſe explications, he cannot in conſcience anſwere you that he did it for any good will he beareth to the Pope but

but rather for that by them it appeareth, that there is no more ſayd of this Pope, then may be fittely applyed to any euill prelate or Prince whatſoeuer. And if we reuiew the hiſtories of the Popes which liued in this Saynts time, we ſhall fynd, that one of their greateſt faultes, and which *S. Briget* moſt miſliked, was their liuing from *Rome*, by which meanes not only that Citty, but all *Italy* and other partes fell to great diſorders and inconueniences. But that this Saint held not *M. Downams* poſitiõs concerning the Popes authority and dignity, is more then manifeſt, for in that very place ſhe calleth the Pope the head of the Church, and affirmeth that he ſitteth in Chriſtes ſeate, which he gaue to *Peter* and his ſucceſſors to ſit in, with a threefold dignity and authority; firſt, that they ſhould haue power to bynd and looſe ſoules from ſinne; ſecondly, that they ſhould open heauen to penitents; thirdly, that they ſhould ſhut heauen to the curſed and contemners. By all which it is manifeſt, that *M. Downam* is eyther deceyued, or meaneth to deceiue others, when he addeth, that *S. Briget* propheſyeth *that the ſea of Rome ſhalbe throwne downe into the deepe like a myllſtone*; for ſhe hath no ſuch matter, neyther can ſuch a ſpeach ſtand with that which went before. She ſayth indeed to the Pope, againſt whom ſhe ſpeaketh, that his ſeat ſhould be ſo throwne downe; *Sedes tua demergetur &c.* but by that ſhe only meant his particuler ſeat: and of the dignity it ſelfe ſhe addeth, that both that of the Pope, as alſo of his followers, and their goodes, *ad alios deuoluentur*, ſhould be giuen to others. This might be largely proued out of her other Reuelations, if it were needfull; but it is ſufficient, only to mention that, where ſhe foretelleth, that the Pope, which loueth his ſpouſe with that loue, with which our Lord and his friends loued her, ſhould poſſeſſe the pallace by *S. Peters* and the whole *Burgo* from the Caſtle *S. Angelo*, and the hoſpitall of the holy Ghoſt, in the ſame manner, as the Popes at this day do inhabit it.

See lib. 4. reuel. cap. 136. & 138. 139. 140. &c. & l. 6. c. 63.

Lib. 6. reuelat. c. 74.

Matthias Pariſienſis the *Bohemian*, whome *M. Downam* produceth next, ſeemeth to haue byn a defendour of *Guilielmus de S. Amore*; and perhaps might let fall ſome wordes, which *M. Downam* and his like may wreſt to their purpoſe;

Matthias Pariſienſ.

but I can hardly see, how he would note the Pope to be Antichrist, since he durst not go against a Pope, which in his opinion out of his zeale and loue to the order of *S. Francis*, of which he was himselfe, and of other begging orders, rather then for the zeale to the community of the holy Church, had condemned & reiected a very profitable booke (perhaps that of *Guilielmus de S. Amore.*) But yet as I sayd, he addeth; *Ego contraire illi non audeo, ne videar os meum ponere contra calum*; I dare not goe against the Pope, least I should seeme to open my mouth against heauen.

Anno. 1380.

Catalogus testium.

For *Petrarch* I will remit M. *Downam* to *Bellarmine*, who sheweth by many of his testimonyes the great reuerence and respect he bare to the Sea of *Rome*, yea to the Popes also of his tyme; though he disliked some things in them, and especially their being from *Rome*, in which many of the best Catholikes of that tyme agreed with him, as we haue seen in *S. Briget*, and might, if it were necessary, alledg many others.

Petrarch Anno. 1374.

See Bellarmine ap. pend. ad lib. de sum. Pont. c. 20 & 21.

Now M. *Downams* witnesses begin to sayle him, and therfore he goeth to the Popes themselues, and telleth vs, that *Vrbanus* the 6 and *Clement* the 7. two Popes at once, call one another Antichrist. And is not this much to the purpose think you, that *Clement* being a false Pope should rayle at the true? or that *Vrban* should in a large sense esteeme a false Pope, that was not afraid by his ambition and pride, to disturbe the peace of Gods Church, to be Antichrist, that is, an aduersary to Christ? Did eyther of these condemne the sea of *Rome*? for if they had byn of M. *Downams* opinion, they should not haue accounted one another Antichrist, but haue striuen, which of them should be he; since their contention was for the Popedome. And this may also serue for *S. Bernards* censure of *Anacletus*; *against whome* (saith M. *Downam* most falsely) *Innocentius the 2. was chosen as Antipope*; for it is manifest out of al histories, that *Innocētius* was elected & accepted before *Anacletus* was euer thought of, who in *Innocētius* his absēce was created Antipope, *quorumdā factionorosorū seditionibus*, by the sedition of wicked persons, sayth *Platina*.

Vrban 6. Clemens 7. An. 1378.

S. Bernard. ep. 125. Innocentius 2. Anacletus 2.

The moderne Heretikes.

Well, though all other fayle him, M. *Downam* knoweth where he shalbe sure to speed, and therefore he goeth to *Iohn*

VVicliff

Wiclife, Iohn Huſſe, Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, Luther, and the reformed Churches; and heere he might eaſily enlarge himſelfe, by naming himſelfe, and many other of his rank, who haue written whole bookes of this ſubiect. But to all theſe we anſwere, that *ſub iudice lis eſt*, or rather ſentence is already twice pronounced againſt them by two generall Councels, and therfore they may eaſily imagine, how much their teſtimony ought to be eſteemed; wherfore omitting theſe, I would rather enlarge my ſelfe againſt *Iohn Fox*, whom M. *Downam* alledgeth for *Hieronymus Sauonarola* his teſtimony. But this is already ſo ſufficiently performed by an vnanſwered author, that I ſhould greatly wrong both him and my ſelfe, if I ſhould not remit my Reader to him.

Hieronymus Sauonarola. See *N. D. exam. of Foxes Calendar part. 1. c. 9. n. 10. 11. 12.*

Wherfore I will conclude this whole diſcourſe of Antichriſts reuelation, deſyring the Reader to weigh the ſeuerall teſtimonies exactly; and to deuide them into three claſſes, of Catholikes, Heretikes euen in the Proteſtants iudgment, and the Proteſtants themſelues. For hauing done thus, he ſhall manifeſtly diſcerne, that the Catholikes are for the moſt part abuſed, & are eytheraltogeather miſtaken, or at leaſt vrged beyond their meaning, which was only to reprehend the vices of their tymes, not ſparing eyther Prelate or Prince, ſo farre as they were faulty: which is an euident conuiction of another ſlaunder, wherwith the Pope and Catholikes are ſomtymes charged by M. *Downam* and his fellowes, that no man dare ſpeake againſt the Pope, what courſe ſoeuer he taketh. The ſecond ſort can be of no credit with any; for being conuinced of hereſy in other points, no man is to be thought the worſe of, but rather the better for theyr rayling. And this indeed is alſo the caſe of Proteſtants, ſince they alſo haue byn condemned by the ſame authority: and if they were not, yet he were very childiſh, that would take their bare aſſertiō for a cōpetent proofe. And though they pretend Scripture, yet that is not inough; for ſo haue all heretikes done for all their hereſyes, though neuer ſo abſurd. And how much the Scripture is wreſted and abuſed, which the Proteſtants bring for this, we haue partly ſeene, and now we go forward to examine the reſt.

May 3. 3. claſſes of the former witneſſes.

The Catholikes.

The Heretikes confeſſed for ſuch by Proteſtants.

The Proteſtants.

to this place of the Epistle to the *Thessal.* which we haue byn discussing all this tyme, now M. *Downam* will adde two places out of the *Apoc.* the former, *cap.* 13. where two beasts are described, which he would haue to signify *two states of the Roman Gouernment, as they are opposed to Christ*. But of this he bringeth no proofe, only he goeth about to apply the wordes of the text to his exposition; as that the former *beast ariseth out of the sea, that is, of many and diuers people, which he had vanquished*: but this agreeth as nttely to Antichrist, as to the *Roman* Empyre. Next he sheweth, how the resemblances of the 4. Kingdomes which are described in *Daniel c.* 7. are conteyned in the description of this beast; But this he can not apply to the Roman Empyre, vnlesse by the 4. Kingdome in *Daniel* he vnderstand the Kingdome of the *Seleucida* and *Lagidæ* which hath byn largely confuted; and therfore it is manifest, that this former beast *Apoc.* 13. signifieth not the Roman Empyre, which is the 4. Kingdome in *Daniel*, but another more terrible then it, conteyning the resemblance not only of it, but also of the other 3. And by this is also ouerthrowne that which M. *Downam* addeth concerning the 10. hornes and 7. heades; for these must belong to Antichrist signified by this former beast, and not to the Romane Empyre, of which now ther is no mention. Neither will *Bellarmines* authority serue his turne, who thinketh it as probable that the former beast signifieth the multitude of the wicked, as the Roman Empyre; and neuer doubted, but that Antichrist at least belonged to the first beast.

Apoc. 13. The former beast signifieth not the Roman Empyre. *See part.* 1. *c.* 8. *n.* 3.

Lib. 3. *de Pōt Rom. cap.* 15. *Lib.* 3. *de Rom. pōt. cap.* 10.

By which appeareth how fondly M. *Downam* groundeth all his exposition of the later beast, vpon *Bellarmines* authority, who notwithstanding in that place most certainly affirmeth, that all men confesse Antichrist to be signified by the former beast; for there he disputeth of the name of Antichrist, and alledgeth the wordes of this 13. *chap.* wherin the later beast is said to impose the name or character of the former beast vpon all men; and *Bellarmines* question is not who shall impose this character, but to whome it belongeth, or which is it; and this is that, which he sayth to be confessed by all, viz. that the name and character there

The later beast signifieth not Antichrist.

there ſpoken of, are the name and character of Antichriſt; and conſequently that the former and not the later beaſt ſignifyeth Antichriſt. By which all M. *Downams* enſuing diſcourſe is made ridiculous; for now he muſt ſeeke a new interpretation for the 2. beaſt, which is indeed Antichriſts armiger or falſe prophet, who no more then his Maiſter hath any thing to do with *Rome*, or the Roman Sea or Empyre, as M. *Downam* fooliſhly ſuppoſeth.

9. The later place, which M. *Downam* addeth now is *Apoc.* 17. where by the 7. heades of the beaſt he vnderſtandeth 7. *kindes of principall rulers, as it were heades of gouernmēt, whereby Rome hath byn gouerned*; out of which he inferreth that *Antichriſt is a head of the Roman ſtate. All which* (ſaith he) *Bellarmine after a ſort confeſſeth.* But we haue already ſhewed, that the beaſt in this chapter ſignifieth not the Roman ſtate, but the Diuell, and conſequently the 7. heades belong alſo to to him, and are not the 7. gouernments of *Rome*, or of any other particuler ſtate, but the 7. chiefe perſecutors in all ages of the world, wherof the Roman Empyre is one. But the 7. of which all our queſtion is cannot be any gouernment of *Rome*, ſince that both the Roman Citty and Empyre ſhall be deſtroyed before this begyn, as hath byn proued, and *Bellarmine* euen in this place, which M. *Downam* heere alledgeth, expreſly ſayth, that the 7. head, which is Antichriſt, ſhall hold the Roman Empyre, but without the name of Roman Emperour; and elſwhere he *ex profeſſo* proueth, that the Roman Empyre ſhalbe only aboliſhed by 10. Kinges, before Antichriſts comming. And thus is M. *Downams* deuiſe of making the Pope this 7. head quite ouerthrown; as alſo that which he addeth of the 8. head, whereas in *S. Iohn* there are only 7. wherfore he might very well haue ſaued the labour of explicating, how *this 7. head is ſaid v. 10. to remayne but a ſhort time*; eſpecially vnleſſe he had meant to haue anſwered the difficulty indeed, and not to haue auoided it, by making ſuch a bare obiection, only out of that 10. verſe; for it is plaine that this laſt head is ſaid to remayne a ſhort ſpace, not in *reſpect of God*, as M. *Downam* fondly ſuppoſeth, but in reſpect of the other 6. gouernments, whereas if we begyn from *Boniface* the third

Apoc. 17. *Lib.* 3. *de Rom. Pōt. c.* 15. The beaſt ſignifieth not the Roman ſtate.

See c. 2 *n.* 4. 9. 18.

See part. 1. *c.* 5. How the 7. head ſhall remayne but a ſhort ſpace.

third, the Pope hath already continued longer then any of the other gouernours of *Rome*. And beſides the ſcripture expreſſely affirmeth, that this ſhort ſpace of this 7. head ſhall only be 3. yeares and an halfe, as hath byn largely proued.

See part. 1. c. 8.

How and when the Roman Empyre is to be deuided amõg 10. Kinges.

10. The reſt which *M. Downã* addeth of the diuiſiõ of the *old Empyre of Rome amõgſt* 10 *Kinges at the leaſt*, wilbe both very hard for him to proue, and beſides is not to the purpoſe; for (as *Bellarmine* hath proued) this diuiſion muſt be in ſuch ſort, that there remayne no *Roman* Emperour at all; which hitherto, as euery man ſeeth, is not fulfylled. And beſides, this diuiſion is to be made before Antichriſt commeth, as is manifeſt *Dan. 7.* where the litle horne ariſeth after the 10. And in this place the beaſt, with whome, or after whome theſe 10. Kinges are to receyue their ſoueraignty, is not Antichriſt, but the deuill, as hath byn ſhewed. And therfor *M. Downam* very fondly inferreth, that Antichriſt is come, from the comming of theſe 10. Kinges; whereas contrarywiſe he ſhould gather, that Antichriſt is not yet come, becauſe theſe 10. Kinges, which ſhould goe before him, are not yet come; which is one of *Bellarmines* arguments: Finally *M. Downam* returneth to his falſe ſuppoſition, *that Antichriſt ſhallbe the 7. Gouernour of Rome, after the Emperours.*

Antichriſt ſhall not be any gouernour of Rome.

wheras I haue ſhewed, that both the *Roman* Empyre and Citty ſhallbe deſtroyed before Antichriſts comming. And he ſhall not be of leſſe power and dominion, then the *Roman* Emperours were, as the Pope is, but of far greater, as appeareth plainly by her deſcription *Apoc. 13.* and by many other places of ſcripture, as hath byn ſufficiently proued. Wherfore now *M. Downam* needeth not to trouble himſelfe to ſhew, *that the firſt Popes were meane men in their outward ſtate*; and that the later abſolutely poſſeſſe *Rome*: for all this conuinceth, that neyther the one, nor the other can be Antichriſt, but his chiefeſt aduerſaryes, ſince they concurre in mantcyning Chriſtian Religion, which he ſhall impugne; and the later haue this alſo peculiar, that they mainteyne both the *Romane* Empyre and Citty, before the deſtruction of both which, Antichriſt ſhall not come. And that conceypt of

See part. 1. c. 5.

M. *Down-*

M. Downams, that the 6. head, that is, *the state of Roman Emperours, is already taken out of the way*, hath already bin shewed to be both false and foolish. By all which it is most manifest, that *M. Downam* hath no ground all in these places of Scripture, for his blasphemous assertion, that the Pope is Antichrist.

M THE

THE FOVRTH CHAPTER.

THAT

The Conditions of Antichriſt, and his oppoſition vnto Chriſt, agree not to the Pope.

HAVING diſpatched the notes of place and time, *M. Downam* commeth to the *condition and qualities of Antichriſt*; where firſt he rightly obſerueth, that Antichriſt ſhall *in reſpect of his oppoſition be an aduerſary to Chriſt*, and *in reſpect of his pride and ambition, be liſted vp aboue all that is called God*. Thus farre we agree; but, ſayth M. *Downam*, the Pope is ſuch an aduerſary, and thus lifted vp. This wee deny, and he muſt proue. But firſt he would haue a ſaying to *Bellarmine*, who proueth the contrary; for that the Pope is ſo farre from being ſuch an aduerſary, and ſo lifted vp, that *he profeſſeth himſelfe the Seruant of Chriſt*. This M. *Downam* reiecteth by a compariſon; for (ſayth he) euen as the Pope profeſſeth himſelfe to be Chriſts ſeruant, ſo he termeth himſelfe the ſeruant of ſeruants (which is *Cains* title) when as in truth he would be eſteemed Lord of Lords. In which litle ſentence, there is much falſe dealing; for firſt *Bellarmines* wordes

Bellar. lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. c. 7.

Gen. 9. 25.

wordes are theſe; *the Biſhop of Rome confeſſeth himſelfe the ſeruant of Chriſt , and ſubiect to Chriſt in all thinges; and ſayeth not that he is any way Chriſt , nor maketh himſelfe equall to him .* Downãs falſe dealinge;

By which *M. Downams* inſtance is fully anſwered, ſo that if he would haue dealt ſincerly , he ſhould haue had nothing to ſay , for though the Pope termeth himſelfe the ſeruant of the ſeruants of *God:* yet he acknowledgeth not himſelf ſubiect to all the ſeruãts of God, but rather profeſſeth himſelfe equall, yea ſuperiour to them , & ſo (in the true ſenſe) ought to be eſteemed Lord of Lords, in reſpect of his ſpirituall authority ouer all Chriſtian Lords and Princes . And yet he truly acknowledgeth himſelfe the ſeruant of the pooreſt Chriſtian that liueth , according to our Sauiours counſayle ; becauſe he knoweth that all the authority he hath , is giuen him *in ædificationem, & non in deſtructionem,* to help and ſerue all in the way of their ſaluation, and not for his owne priuate commodity , or greatneſſe. But what can the Pope doe, that will pleaſe *M. Downã,* ſince this act of exceeding great humility diſpleaſeth him ? In ſo much that he is not aſhamed to call it *Cains title*; not ſeeing the difference betwixt the ſeruants of God , who haue the greateſt freedome, that may be, and are deſeruedly ſayed to reigne, and to be Kinges; and other baſe ſlaues either of the diuell , or men , to whome *Cain* was ſubiected by his Fathers curſe ; for the Pope neither is, nor calleth himſelfe the ſeruant of ſeruants abſolutely , as *M. Downam* would make vs belieue , and as *Cain* was called ; but the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God .

How the Pope is the Seruant of Gods Seruants. *Marc. 10. 2. Corin. 13.* *2. Corin. 3. Gal. 5. Iac. 2.*

Secondly *M. Downam* impugneth *Bellarmine* , by telling vs , that the Pope *could not be Antichriſt , vnleſſe he profeſſed himſelfe to be the ſeruant of Chriſt*; *for* (ſaith he) *according to the Scriptures, Antichriſt is an Apoſtata or reuolter . A diſguiſed enemy or hypocrite , that is , one that is fallen indeed from God and his truth , as it were a ſtarre from heauen , yet retayneth the name and profeſſion of Chriſt , vnder which name and profeſſion he oppugneth Chriſt and his truth , euen as a rebellious ſubiect &c. And that this is the property of Antichriſt* , Hilary *hath well obſerued : It is the property of Antichriſts name , to be contrary to Chriſt . This is now practiſed vnder the opinion of counterfayt piety ; this vnder a ſhew of preaching the ghoſpell,* *Ad Auxentium .*

is preached, that our Lord Iesus Christ may be denyed, whiles he is thought to be preached. Augustine *sayth, we haue found many Antichrists, which confesse Christ with their mouth.* Thus M. *Downam*; where the reader must marke attentiuely, that all our controuersy is whether the chiefe and proper Antichrist shall be a disguised or an open enemy to Christ; for that he shalbe an enemy, yea his chiefest enemy, we all agree; and likewise, that all Christs enemyes whatsoeuer, whether disguised or open, may in some sort be called Antichrists,; for which cause *S. Hilary* in the place alledged sayeth, that there are many Antichristes, and that the *Arians*, of whome he speaketh, were *ministri*, and *præuij imminentis Antichristi*; the ministers and fore-runners of Antichrist shortly to come. Wherfore *S. Augustine*, and he in the wordes alledged affirme no more, then that many which professe piety, the ghospell, and Christ, deserue the name of Antichrist in a large acception, because indeed they are enemyes to Christ: yea *S. Hilary* seemeth euen in this place to insinuate that Antichrist properly taken shalbe an open enemy; for hauing explicated, that it is the property of Antichrists name to be contrary to Christ he presently addeth, that this contrariety was in time *practised vnder the opinion of counterfait piety &c.* and consequently was afterward to be practised after another manner, as he els where plainly affirmeth. And me thinks M. *Downam* should haue considered, that these Saynts could not speak of the chiefe Antichrist, and properly taken, since that by his owne confession, this Antichrist was not come for many yeares after them; and they affirme, that the Antichrists which they speake of, were come in their time.

Tractat. 3. in Ioan.

What manner of enemy to Christ, Antichrist shall be.

2. M. *Downam* hauing thus confirmed his doctrine in generall, descendeth to the seuerall parts therof, and sayth first, *that Antichrist is an Apostata, yea the head of that Apostasy, or falling away from the truth mentioned 2. Thess. 2. in so much that some of the learned, and Bellarmine himselfe by that Apostasy vnderstand Antichrist himselfe.* This he confirmeth by many testimonyes, though some what confusedly, some of them vnderstanding Antichrist to be the Apostasy, and others that

2. *Thess.* 2. What Apostasy S. Paul speaketh of.

that this Apoſtaſy is a departure from the true fayth. But what is this againſt vs? Doth not *Bellarmine* admit both theſe expoſitions as probable, and the former as moſt probable? Or doth any Catholike doubt, but that when Antichriſt cõmeth, there ſhall be a great Apoſtaſy from the true fayth, and Chriſt himſelfe? Only I muſt tell *M. Downã*, that his laſt teſtimony 1. *Tim.* 4. 1. 2. is not to the purpoſe; for in that place the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of Antichriſt, but of ſome heretikes, as of the *Manichyes*, *Eucratites*, and *Marcionitſts*, ſayth *S. Chryſoſtome hom.* 12. *in* 1. *ad Tim.* to which *S. Ambroſe* heere addeth the *Patricians*, and other Fathers adde alſo the heretikes called *Apoſtolici*, *Ebionitæ*, and the like. And me thinks that *M. Downam* might eaſily haue perceiued, that his generall, or as he calleth it Catholike Apoſtaſy, cannot be here ſpoken of, ſince that S. *Paul* only ſpeaketh of certayn, or ſome, which ſhall depart from the fayth. But perhaps *M. Downam* thought to remedy this by tranſlating the place falſely, that theſe ſome ſhall *make an Apoſtaſy*; whereas the wordes are only that they ſhall *depart*, or apoſtate, and their owne Engliſh tranſlation vſeth the firſt word. And if *M. Downam* meaneth, that they ſhall make an Apoſtaſy, by departing themſelues, it is in effect that which the Scripture ſayth, though not well expreſſed by him; if he meaneth, that heretikes departing ſhall draw others after them, it is alſo true, but nothing to his purpoſe, nor expreſſely affirmed in this place; but if by that tranſlation he would inſinuate, that thoſe (ſome) ſhall make a generall Apoſtaſy, then is his tranſlation a falſification, and his meaning altogether falſe, as appeareth by the explication of the Fathers, and the wordes of the Scripture it ſelfe.

2. *Tim.* 4. *See the Rhemiſts vpon this place.*

Downam tranſlateth not well.

It is needleſſe to ſhew *M. Downams* folly in charging the Papiſts, *which* (as he ſayth) *falſly hold that the viſible Church of Chriſt cannot erre, and much leſſe fall away, to expound this Apoſtaſy or defection to be a reuolt or falling away from the Roman Empyre*: As though *Bellarmine* were not a Papiſt, or did not hold, that the viſible Church of Chriſt cannot erre, and much leſſe fall away; or that this Apoſtaſy of Antichriſt did neceſſarily inferre, that the Church muſt either erre or

fall away; and not rather that many by erring may fall away from the Church: wherfore Catholikes hold both expositions as probable; and for this later *Bellarmine* alledgeth *Ambrosius*, *Sedulius*, and *Primasius*. Neither doth *M. Downam* himselfe deny, but that it is true in substance: for he acknowledgeth a defection from the *Roman* Empyre also, only in his opinion this place is not so to be vnderstood. This he should proue, which he doeth not, by shewing the probability of the other exposition, which no man denyeth.

3. It being thus accorded, that Antichrist shallbe an Apostata, and cause an Apostasy, *M. Downam* goeth about to shew, that the Catholikes haue made this Apostasy, and this he proueth; *because they forbid marriage to some men at all tymes, and certayne meates to all men at some tymes, and that for Religions sake, esteeming of marriage in their Clergy worse then adultery or Sodomy, and eating of flesh in Lent, or other forbidden tymes, as a mortall sinne. For the Apostle* (in his opinion) *setteth downe these two doctrines of Diuels, as certayne notes, wherby those which make this Apostasy may be discerned; and S. Hierome also hath noted the former to be a marke of Antichrist; Nota est Antichristi prohibere nuptias.* Where first it is manifest by that which hath byn sayd, that these doctrines, wherof the Apostle speaketh, belong not to Antichrist properly taken, but to many Heretikes, who among other heresyes should also hould these; and so is *S. Hierome* also to be interpreted, as affirming, that it is a note of an aduersary of Christ, to forbid marriage, if those wordes be any where to be found in him, for certaynly in *Dan.* 11. which place *M. Downam* quoteth, there are no such wordes to be found; neyther doth he affirme any such matter, yea he transflateth the place of *Daniel* in the contrary sense, though he acknowledgeth, that the other interpretation might more easily be applyed to Antichrist, as not agreeing to *Antiochus*. But that these heresyes haue nothing to do with the doctrine of the Catholike Church, is so cleare, that it is wonderfull, that eyther *M. Downam*, or any other could make any doubt therof.

2. *Tim.* 4. 3. *in Dan.* 11.

How it is lawfull to forbid marriage and the vse of some meates.

See *part.* 1. *c.* 21. *xxi &c.*

But what doth not blind and malicious heresy inuent & attempt? For first concerning marriage it is euident, that the

the Catholike Church forbiddeth none to marry, but such as of their owne accord haue bound themselues to the contrary; and that these are bound to abstayne no man cā doubt, but such as imagine that marriage is better then continency; which is most evidently against both Scriptures and Fathers. But I will content my selfe in this place to answere *M. Downam* in both these points, as *Bellarmine* did *Illyricus*; or rather as *S. Augustine* did *Faustus* the *Manichy*, for they are his wordes, *He forbiddeth marriage* (sayth *S. Augustine*) *who saith that marriage is euill; and not he, who preferreth another thing which is better, before this which is good.* And after; *Wherfore you see, that there is a great difference betwixt those which exhort to Virginity, preferring a greater good before a lesse good; and those which forbid to marry, vehemently accusing the act of propagation, which properly is only in marriage.* And least *M. Downam* should complayne, that *S. Augustine* doth only answere the one halfe of his argument; he presently addeth, *that there is much difference betwixt those which abstayne from meates for a sacred signification, or for the chastisement of their bodyes, and those which abstayne from meates, which God hath created, saying, that God hath not created them: wherfore* (sayth *S. Augustine*) *that former doctrine is the doctrine of the Prophets and the Apostles* (and consequently of the Catholike Church) *this other is the doctrine of lying Diuels.* *Lib. 30 contra Faustum cap. 6.*

After this *M. Downam* discourseth, *that though neyther the inuisible Church in generall, nor any one sound member therof can fall away from fayth either totally or finally, yet not only the members of visible Churches, but also the Churches themselues consisting of hypocrites, as of the greater part, may fall away. As* (sayth he) *the Church of England, which was in King Edwards dayes, reuolted in Queene Maryes time, from Christ to Antichrist.* Where you see he chargeth his Church of *England* in King *Edwards* dayes to haue consisted of hypocrites, as of the greater part, and perhaps he thinketh as much of it now also. But leauing this, hath he not proued his doctrine very well thinke yow, of the falling away of visible Churches by this one example, which he knoweth that his aduersaryes will deny? And yet he only addeth, the falling away *of the Church of Rome*, as appeareth by that, which hath bin sayd, and hereafter shall be sayd, quoting his 2. *booke chap.* 2. But for these two

The visible Romā Church cannot fall away.

two places, they are already examined, and no falling away at all appeareth. Wherfore since he can proue his assertions no better, I think it best to graunt him *gratis*, that other particuler visible Churches may fall away, but not the vniuersall, or Catholike visible Church, which we also rightly call the *Roman* Church, because it acknowledgeth the Bishop of *Rome* for her supreme visible Pastour vpon earth; no, nor the particuler *Roman* Church neyther, as *Bellarmine* most learnedly explicateth, to whome at this time, I remit my Reader, for further proofes; for now I intend only to answer such arguments, as M. *Downam* bringeth for himselfe.

See Bellar. lib. 4. de Rom. Pont c. 4. and. lib. 3. de Eccl. militant. à Cap. 11. vsq ad finem libri.

4. Secondly (sayth M. *Downam*) *Antichrist is not an open and out ward, but a couert and disguised enemy, oppugning Christ and his Church, not by open violence, but with all deceyueableneesse of vnrighteousnesse.* Where first I suppose, that by open violence, M. *Downam* meaneth not to deny the outward persecution, with which Antichrist shall afflict the Church of God; for this hath bin already proued, and in that place he seemed not greatly to deny it: wherfore by open violence, and by being an open and outward enemy, doubtlesse he meaneth, that Antichrist shall not openly and plainly professe himselfe to be an enemy to Christ and his Church; and this he would first proue, though some what couertly, by those wordes of *S. Paul, in omni seductione iniquitatis*, with all deceiueableneesse of vnrighteousnesse. But this is a playne deceyt: for *S. Paul* there speaketh only of the manner, with which Antichrist shall come, and the meanes which he shall vse to draw men after him; one of the which shalbe this wicked seducing; as well as the working of *Sathan*, and all power, and lying signes and wonders. Now, who seeth not, that all these wicked meanes, may be vsed to perswade any doctrine whatsoeuer, though neuer so opposite to Christ; and besides, as hath bin proued, this wicked seduction is affirmed by *S. Paul* to be chiefly vsed by Antichrist in respect of the *Iewes*, as the wordes inmediately following do manifestly shew; and it shall consist in professing himselfe a friend to them and their law, as hath byn sufficiently declared. But (sayth M. *Downam*) *he is no*

Antichrist shall not be a disguised but an open enemy to Christ and his Church.

2. Thess. 2. See part. 1. c. 4.

so foolish, as to professe himselfe to be Antichrist. Among the *Iewes* this profession were no folly, but perhaps one of the most effectuall meanes, which he could vse; such is their hatred to Christ. Among Christians if he shall meddle with any, vntill he hath more forcible meanes then arguments or perswasions (which is not very probable) it may very well be, that he will not shew himselfe so open an enemy, especially at the first. But if this should so fall out, it will not continue long, for he shall in a very short space subdue all his enemyes, and conquer the world; and then he will oppose and extoll himselfe both aboue Christ, and all that is called God, or worshipped; and those which will not beleiue his word, shall feele his sword.

Whether it be folly in Antichrist to professe himselfe to be so.

M. *Downãs* next argumẽt is borrowed of *Radulphus Flauiacensis in Leuitic. lib. 18. c. 1. apud Magdeburg. cent. 10* in these wordes; *Neither could that be which the Apostle testifyeth, that Antichrist should attayne vnto Ecclesiasticall honours, and in the Temple of God, that is, in the society of the faythfull, should take the chayre of honour, vnlesse hauing first pretended a kind of conformity with the faythfull, he should deceiue those, of whome he is to be ordayned.* This argument in it selfe hath no force at all, for it supposeth fallly, that the Apostle testifyeth, that Antichrist should attyane vnto Ecclesiasticall honours, and take the chayre of honour in the society of the faythfull; whereas *S. Paul* hath no such assertion, as hath byn proued at large. Now what authority *Radulphus Flauiacensis* his testimony deserueth, being taken from the lying *Magdeburgenses*, I leaue to the indgement of others. Surely it seemeth, that either the authors of *Catalogus Testium* had not a true copy, or els they wanted their spectacles, since that they omit so cleare a testimony; for of their good will to the Pope, and double diligence we are sufficiently assured. But howsoeuer this be, certayn it is, that this *Radulphus* ought to haue no more authority against vs, then for vs, and in most things he clearly standeth for vs, euen in this controuersy of Antichrist, as may be seene euen by that which the *Magdeburgenses* themselues relate out of him.

Radulphus Flauiacensis his false supposition.

See part. 2. c. 13.

But M. *Downam* goeth on; that *Antichristianisme is called the mystery of iniquity, wher upon the glosse sayth; The impiety of Anti-*

Antichristianisme is not the mystery of iniquity.

christis mysticall, that is cloked vnder the name of godlynesse. This doubt hath byn already discussed, and I haue shewed cuidetly out of the text it selfe, that the mystery of iniquity, is not Antichristianisme; for that did worke in *S. Paules* time, and this was to be reuealed long after. And least *M. Downam* should answere, that though Antichrist were not then reuealed, yet he was come; though this euasion were very fooliſh, and hath byn refuted; yet the Apostle as it were to exclude this shifte, presently after expresseth, what he meant by the reuealing of Antichrist, calling it his cōming; and this also he describeth in such sort, that it cannot seeme to haue byn at that time. The text being thus cleare, and commonly so vnderstood by all good writers, we might lawfully reiect such a glosse, as corrupteth the text. But the truth is, that the glosse speaketh not of Antichrist himselfe, but of his forerunners: *Iam in ipsis initijs accessionis inuenitur iniquitas &c. Now in the very beginning of his comming*; that is, when he only commeth in his forerunners &c.

See part. 1. c. 2. n. 16. and 18.

Apoc. 7. A mystery neyther written in the Popes myter, nor in the whore of Babylons forehead.

M. *Downam* addeth; *that as in the Popes myter was wont, soe also in the whore of Babylons forehead is written a Mystery*; This of the Popes myter, is, as you see, confidently affirmed by M. *Downam* only vpon his bare word: how much more modesty and discretion did his Maiesty vse, in refusing to affirme it without proofe, but rather calling it in question, with an (*if it be true*?) because he only saw it rashly affirmed by M. *Downam*, and perhaps some one or two more, as rash and malicious as he. But what if this had byn soe? must it needes presently haue signifyed an euill mystery? Will M. *Downam* make all mysteries to belong to Antichrist? I hope he will not deny, but that Christ and his seruants haue their mysteryes, as well as Antichrist. Now for that mystery mentioned *Apoc.* 17. it was an euill mystery indeed, signifying *Ethnike Rome* to be mysticall *Babylon*; But it was not written in the whore of *Babylons* forehead, but added by *S. Iohn*, to signify, that the wordes which follow, and which were written in her forehead, were a mystery, and mystically to be vnderstood. Which that M. *Downam* may the more easily believe, he may be told of M. *Thomas*

Bri-

Brightmans authority, who in his Commentary vpon the Apocalyps published the yeare 1609. expoundeth it so.

From this he goeth againe to Antichrists *sitting in the Temple of God, professing himselfe and his followers to be the only true Church of God*; of which we haue treated long since, shewing, that this Temple is that of *Ierusalem*, and that it is common to all that professe any religion, to account themselues and their fellowes, or followers to be the only true Church of God. And therfore it is no meruayle, though Antichrist, who will professe himselfe to be the only God, will professe also his religion to be only true. Besides, *M. Downam* sayth, that Antichrist shall *vse the two testaments*; As though he might not vse them to impugne Christ as *Iulian* the Apostata, and other infidells did. More ouer he shall *pretend himselfe, as* Hierome saith, *to be the Prince of the Couenant, and consequently* (sayth M. *Downam*) *head of the Church.* But if he meaneth of Christs Church, nothing can be more absurd then this inferēce. For *S. Hierome* plainly speaketh of Antichrists making himself the Prince of the *Iewes*, and their religion, law, Couenant or Testament; he shall also *deceiue vnsound Christians* (sayth M. *Downam*) *with a glorious profession of religion* (*signifyed by the golden cup*.) That Antichrist shall make a glorious profession of his religion; no man denyeth; but that this is signifyed by the golden cup, is no way probable; vnlesse it be applyed to the glorious profession, which the old *Romans* made of their *Idolatry*; though it is rather to be applyed to the riches, with the hope wherof, they allured other people to concur with them, and not to imbrace Christian religion. For this indeed was a greater motiue, then any glory, which their religion it selfe had; as now we also see in Protestants and their religion, that many rather follow it for preferment, then for the glorious profession of the ghospell: and this might be confirmed by that of *Ieremy* 51. *Calix aureus Babylon in manu Domini inebrians omnem terram*.

2. *Thess.* 2. 4. See *part.* 1. *c.* 13. *Primasius & gloss. in Apoc.* 13. *In Dan* 11. What is signifyed by the golden Cup? *Apoc.* 17. See *Ribera vpon Apoc.* 17.

Next *M. Downam* attributeth to Antichrist a shew of counterfeyt holinesse. This he proueth, *for that otherwise he could neuer so effectually deceiue many Christians, as that the elect*

should be in danger to be seduced: we deny not, that Antichrist
Math. 24. shall make a shew of counterfayt holynesse, but the se-
duction or rather the induction into errour, of which our
Sauiour speaketh, is by him rather attributed to great
signes and wonders, then to any other shew of holynesse.
2. Tim. 4. 2. And that which M. Downam addeth out of S. Paul, speaking
lyes in hypocrisy, is to be vnderstood of heretikes, who
indeed oppugne Christ and his truth vnder the outward
Apoc. 13. 11. shew and profession of Christian religion. Likewise the
two hornes like the Lambe, and the speaking like the Dragon, belong
not to Antichrist himselfe, but to his false Prophet; and
are foolishly applyed by M. Downam to the Popes double power,
spirituall and temporall: though no doubt, as Antichrist shall
vsurpe the dignity due to Christ himselfe, so his false
Prophet, shall equall himselfe to Christs Vicar the Pope
in both dignities. The speaking like a dragō may be applyed
to the blasphemous speaches of this false Prophet, to his doctrine
of diuells, to his hellish curses, and great promises; for it is very
probable that he shall vse them all, and by them poyson
mens soules, as a dragon infecteth the body. And M. Downam
speach is not much vnlike to his, in applying all this to the
Pope. But let vs see his reasons.

First he sayth, that the Popes Holynesse must be called
How the Popes is called Sanctissimus. Sanctissimus, most holy, when he is most wicked. What of this?
Is not this common to Emperours and Kinges, who are
also called most Sacred, how wicked soeuer their life be,
for that their office and dignity is alway sacred? and much
more that of the Pope, which hath a farre more holy end
& institutiō? Secōdly (sayth M. Downā) the Pope calleth him-
selfe Seruus Seruorū, the seruāt of seruāts, when in truth he maketh
himselfe the King of Kinges, and Lord of Lords; where still he
mistaketh the matter; for the Pope calleth himselfe the ser-
uant of Gods seruants; and by that meanes exerciseth a
exceeding great act of humility, since that Christ hath
made and appoynted him for the head and pastour of all
Christian Kinges and Lords, as well as of other meane
Christians. And it is not in his power to alter this institu-
tion of Christ, though he may vse it with humility and
moderation, as he doth; whatsoeuer M. Downam sayth

the contrary: Will *M. Downam* deny that *S. Paul* had all Apoſtolicall power, becauſe he made himſelfe *omnium ſeruum*, the ſeruant of all, 1. *Corin.* 9? Neither is it againſt this humility to admit and require alſo ſuch reuerence and adoration, as is due to his place, as is apparent in all other Princes and magiſtrates. And no doubt the Pope hath many priuiledges and dignityes, which the Angells haue not, as to be Prieſt, Biſhop, and the Vicar or Vicegerent of Chriſt. And good Popes want not that title, for which Angells deſerue to be honoured, that is, inherent grace, iuſtice and ſanctity: for which cauſe *S. Auguſtine lib.* 20. *contra Fauſt. cap.* 21. writeth thus: *Colimus ergo Martyres eo cultu dilectionis & ſocietatis, quo & in hac vita coluntur ſancti Dei homines, ſed illos tãto deuotiùs quãtò ſecuriùs, poſt incerta omnia ſuperata*; we worſhip Martyrs (& the like is of Angells & all other Saynts) with that worſhip of dilection, and ſociety, with which in this life holy mẽ of God are alſo worſhipped; but we worſhip them ſo much more deuoutly, as we may ſecurely, after the victory of all vncertaynties. Now if *M. Downã* will deny, that there are any good Popes at all; he muſt proue it alſo, before any wiſe man will believe him: and in the meane time, we ſhall think our ſelues bound, to think the beſt of our ſupreme paſtours, vntill we know the contrary; as no doubt *S. Antoninus*, and all other holy men allway did. And though it were neuer ſo notorious, that they were wicked, ſo long as they retayn that higheſt dignity, of being Chriſts vicars & Vicegerẽts, we are to reſpect, reuerence, and adore them alſo for that cauſe; as likewiſe we acknowledge the like to be due to all lawfull Princes, how euill ſoeuer their life be.

What reuerence and adoration is due to the Pope.

Sum. part. 3. tit. 22. §. 4.

As for the Angell's refuſall to be adored by *S. Iohn*, it is not now time to treate of it at large; nor to explicate, whether *S. Iohn* tooke the Angell to be Chriſt himſelfe, and conſequently would haue adored him with that adoration, which is only due to Chriſt; which no doubt the Angell was bound to hinder; or els that the refuſall proceeded from the Angells humility, and reſpect to *S. Iohn*, whome he acknowledged to be his equall, if not ſuperiour, as well in ſanctity as in other Apoſtolicall perfections. But how-

Apoc. 22. Why the Angell refuſed to be adored by S. Iohn.

See cap. 5. n. 12.

soeuer this be, sure we are, that Angels and Saynts deserue very well to be honoured, as to omit other proofes, is manifest by that, which we haue alledged out of *S. Augustine*, & is plainly confirmed by this fact of *S. Iohn*, if we suppose, that he tooke the Angell to be no other then himselfe.

That which *M. Downam* addeth out of *S. Bernard* hath byn already sufficiently explicated, and indeed he maketh no particuler mention of the Pope in either place, but only complayneth of euill Prelates in generall, who persecute Christ, and serue Antichrist with their wicked life, and example; all which notwithstanding it is manyfest in the same place and many other, that *S. Bernard* withdrew not any due respect or adoration from them.

Serm. in conuers. Paul. & in Cant. Serm. 33.

Of *Auentine*, and the Orations, or Epistles which he rehearseth, I haue already also sufficiently spoken, and in this place, which *M. Downam* here alledgeth, he himselfe professeth only to set downe the sense of the Pope, and the Bishops Epistles, as briefly as may be: by which it is manifest, that the wordes alledged by *M. Downam*, are not the Bishops owne, but *Auentines*: wherfore this might suffice for answere to this obiection. But if we should go further, what credite could *Auentine* or *M. Downam* get by partaking with two wicked Bishops in so bad a cause, against their lawfull Superiour the Pope? For the reason, why they take so on against him, was no other, but for that he iudged them worthy of punishment, because they consented with, and defended King *Lotharius*, who had publikely put away his lawfull wife, and taken a strumpet. By which it is manifest, that all their exclamations against the Pope were meere rayling and calumniations, such as *M. Downam* and his associates are wont to vse. Finally if Pope *Nicholas* had iniured these Bishops, had it byn any other then a personall fault of a particuler Pope, which maketh nothing at all against his lawfull authority, and iurisdiction, which we only defend?

Annal. Baron. lib. 4.

Downam ioyneth with 2. wicked Bishops against the Pope.

It is not now tyme to explicate the Popes office, or to distinguished it from the office of Christ; *M. Downam* should shew vs, that the Pope is not the Vicar of Christ, or that he taketh more vpon him, then

then that office requireth; as likewise that the Pope vsurpeth any more power then is due vnto him, eyther in spirituall or temporall affayres; which he will neuer be able to doe: and though that second beast hath 2. hornes *like the lambe*, and the Pope hath two powers which may be signified by two hornes, yet this is no proofe, that the Pope is signified by that beast, vnlesse the rest also, in which the beast is vnlike to the lambe did agree to the Pope: for it is not the likenesse, but the vnlikenesse to the lambe, which is the cause that this beast is so bad. And besides M. *Downam* seemeth to be much mistaken in thinking, that the lambe to which these hornes are compared, is our Sauiour Christ; for it is much more probable that they are compared to the hornes of that beast indeed, which is properly called a lâbe, for ἀρνὶς is here without an article, which it vseth to haue, when it signifieth Christ: and so doth M. *Brightman* seeme also to vnderstand it, who will needes haue these two hornes to be King *Pipin*, & *Charles* the Great, which though they were most potent Princes, yet they are compared to the hornes of a lambe, because the Popes, which they ayded, did seeme to be poore afflicted and innocent men. Thus do these men agree in their interpretations, which they will haue to be beleiued as Ghospell. But leauing M. *Brightman*, I only wish M. *Downam* to consider, that his exposition of these two hornes falleth to the ground, by this explication of the lambe, to which they are compared, which is yet more manifest if we follow the opinion of those Catholike Deuines, who in Christ as man acknowledge only one spirituall authority, which extendeth it selfe to temporall things only so far as their disposition is necessary to a spirituall end: which in the Pope, as he is Pope, is much more certayne, and consequently neyther this lambe, nor his Vicar hath any more, then one horne in this sense, whereas both the lambe and the beast which S. *Iohn* speaketh of, haue each of them two hornes.

Apoc. 13. The second beast signifieth not the Pope.

Of the *doctrine of Diuells* which M. *Downam* is not ashamed to attribute to the Pope out of 1. *Tim.* 4. 3. we haue already spoken sufficiently, and shewed, that they belong to Heretikes, and no way to the Pope, nor properly to Anti-

Antichrist. The *horrible blasphemyes*, which M. *Downam* promiseth to belch forth in the next chapter, we will examine there; as also *the Diuellish curses against the Saynts*, which he speaketh of, when they come, for now he nameth none in particuler, and by all likelyhood he meaneth only the Popes censures, and the excommunications against Heretickes, which are *M. Downams* Saints. One example of *Sathanicall promises* he giueth vs here out of *Auentine*, who bringeth in Pope *Adrian* the 4. an English man, saying: *Ecce in potestate nostra est Imperium, vt demus illud cui volumus*; Behold the Empyre is in our power, that we may giue it to whom we will. I need not to repeat any thing concerning *Auentine*, hauing already sufficiently proued, that his authority is nothing worth, except it be confirmed with more authenticall and ancient writers. And surely it is meruaile how *Radenicus* whom *Auentine* alledgeth as one that wrote the whole history, omitteth this Epistle, especially since that he himselfe *lib.* 1 *c.* 8. promiseth to set downe the letters which passed vp and downe after the controuersy was begun betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, that so the Reader might the better iudge, which part had or did wrong. Besydes, who can imagine that Pope *Adrian* should be so ignorant in his owne historyes, that he should attribute the translation of the Empyre from the *Greekes* to the *Germans* to Pope *Zachary*, wheras it is manifest, that Pope *Leo* created *Charles* the Great Emperour. But supposing, that this which *Auentine* rehearseth, were truly Pope *Adrians* writing, what more can be gathered out of it, then that it is in the Popes power vpon iust occasions to giue the Empyre to another Nation, as well as he gaue it to the *Germans*? For so is that (*cui volumus*) to be vnderstood, as is manifest by the clause, which goeth immediately before, *Sicut Zacharias transtulit Imperium Graecis ad Teutonicos, ita nos possumus ab Alemanis transferre ad Graecos*; *viz.* if the *Germans* giue vs the like occasion, as the *Grecians* did.

Annal. Boior. lib. 6.

Next to this M. *Downam* goeth forward, and applyeth a saying of *S. Hierome* to the Pope and the Papists, *as condemning, and contemning marriage*, and yet, *vnder the shew of vowed chastity, practising all vncleannesse, and condemning all mo-*

derate

derate eating of flesh, and yet *vnder colour of fasting, feasting and feeding themselues with the choisest daynties*. But this is meere rayling and lying, for we neither condemne nor contemne marriages, any more then *S. Hierome* himselfe did, as hath byn shewed; and those which vow chastity are not allowed to practice any vncleanneſſe at all; no more then marryed Ministers are permitted to committe adultery, though perhaps through humane frayltey, some of both sortes fall now and then: and it were not very easy for *M. Downam* to proue that those which haue vowed chastity fall oftener. But howsoeuer this be, the sinne of some ouerthroweth not the perfection or goodnes of the estate. And the like is to be sayd of fasting, though still it will be manifest, that those may feast and feed themselues with more choice daynties, which take liberty to eat all kind of meates whatsoeuer, then the other which abstayne from flesh; to omit, that many abstayne from flesh, which are not able to procure any other daintyes at all. But why doth *M. Downam* so absolutely affirme, 'that *we condemne all moderate eating of flesh*? Doth he not know that this is absolutely false, and that we only condemne it in them, which without iust cause eate it at such times as it is prohibited by the lawfull Pastours of the Church, who doe no more in this then the Apostles themselues, and all ensuing ages haue alway practised.

Maryage and vowing of chastity.

Fasting, & eating of flesh.

But let vs heare how *M. Downam* proceedeth. *Do not many of them* (saith he) *vnder pretence of voluntary prouerty gather infinite riches?* To which the answere is easy, that they do not; for though some religious Orders or houses in common haue plentifull reuenues, yet the particuler persons are neuer a whit the richer, and the Superiours themselues haue only the bare administration, without the dominion, all which may stand with voluntary and Euangelicall pouerty, as might easily be proued, if this place were conuenient.

Voluntary pouerty.

Now that which followeth, is very ridiculous; for *M. Downam* affirmeth, that all our religion standeth in *opere operato*, *in the bare performance* of the outward worke; which is such an ignorant, or impudent calumniation, that me thinks

Opus operatum.

thinks M. *Downam* should haue byn ashamed to haue put it in print, howsoeuer he might haue presumed to haue talked of it in a pulpit among the simpler sort; for what is more euident, then that we only allow the Sacraments to haue their effect, *ex opere operato*, in this sense, that though he that giueth them be neuer so vnworthy, yet the receyuer shall not be depriued of their effect, if he commeth well prepared and disposed? which he cannot do with only *opere operato*, but he must also haue *opus operantis*, that is such good operations or dispositions, as that Sacrament doth require. As for example, though it be sufficient, of the Priests part which heareth confessions, that he pronounce the wordes of absolution, for me to haue my sinnes pardoned, and receiue grace; yet it is necessary of my part, that I be truly penitent and sory for them, with purpose rather to dye, then to commit the like againe &c. or els his absolution will auayle me nothing. And the same is yet more manifest out of the Sacraments, where *opus operatum* will auayle me nothing at all (except perhaps in some cases not to commit a new sinne) but *opus operantis*, that is a good worke with all due circumstances, is necessarily required.

Bookes of deuotion and controuersyes.

Well, let vs conclude these foolish and friuolous obiections, of which now there only remayneth that of *our Bookes of deuotion*, which M. *Downam* will needes haue to be written *out of hypocriticall policy*, *because wee hoped to preuayle with them, when we could not preuayle with bookes of controuersy*; and this he confirmeth, *because the principall of these bookes were set forth by* Persõs *& other Iesuytes, who are plainly discouered, euen by some of their owne side, to be meere Machiauillians & wicked Atheists*; for which he quoteth in the margẽt *Quodlibets* &c. But who seeth not that this man is more then half beyde himselfe, with a fitt of hereticall phrensy, since that he misliketh that, which no good man can condemne? For who would not commend zeale and deuotion in any enemy whatsoeuer? And besides, can ther be a more playne *petitio principij*, then this, to suppose, that our bookes of deuotion will draw the Reader to a false religion: wheras by all reason they rather conuince the contrary, since that so sweet and pro-

profitable or whol some fruite cannot proceed from the poysoned roote of heresy, as both our Sauiour and experience teacheth vs. And these bookes of deuotion are a greater testimony for *Persons* and other *Iesuites*, to proue them both religious and deuout men, then any obiection *M. Downam* can make against them; and may also serue to ouerthrow the testimony of those *Quodlibets*, though they had not byn otherwise disproued, nor recalled and recanted by the Author at his death. Finally what should be the reason, that our bookes of deuotion should preuayle so much, and those of Protestants so litle, but that they are written with a different spirit, arising from the diuersity of the religions, which the authors professe? And as for our bookes of Controuersy, if they preuayle no more then *M. Downam* beareth vs in hand, the fault is not in them, but in those which hinder their passage, as it would soone be seene, if it were once open.

5. Hitherto we haue answered *M. Downams* obiections, which he brought to proue, that either Antichrist or the Pope is a disguised enemy to Christ, for that Antichrist shalbe an open enemy, and the Pope is no enemy at all, but the greatest friend and fauourite which our Sauiour hath vpon earth. But yet *M. Downam* will insist vpon this poynt some what longer, and tell vs of some *particuler* oppositions, which he fondly imagineth to be betwixt our Sauiour, and his Vicegerent the Pope; allway supposing that this oppositiō is not *aperto Marte*, but *couertly & cunningly*, because in his conceipt *Antichristianisme is the mystery of iniquity, wherin Christ was in word and shew to be professed, but indeed and truth to be denyed.* All which hath byn largely confuted els where, and now *M. Downam* bringeth no new proofes for vs to answere. Wherfore omitting this, we go forward to examine the opposition, which he obiecteth betwixt Christ and the Pope. *First then* (saith he) *the Pope is opposed to Christ our Prophet, in denying Christ to be our only Prophet, whiles he and his followers do teach, that the Scriptures are not perfect; and that besides the Apocryphall writings (which they haue matched with the Canonicall) their owne traditions also are necessary, and of equall authority with the Scriptures.* And is not this a wise proofe think you, for so grie-

See part 2. c. 14. The Pope not opposite to Christ our Prophet.

uous an accusation? The Catholikes and Protestants are at controuerty, what bookes of Scripture are Canonicall, and whether any Traditions are to be admitted, or only the written word? And *M. Downam* taking his assertion as certayn and graunted without either alledging his owne proofes, or answering ours, goeth on to inferre other inconueniences and absurdities, which would follow of our Doctrine, if it were false. Can ther be a more ridiculous or absurd *petitio principy* then this? And can any Reader expect more in this place then a bare denyall to a bare affirmation, for answer of *M. Downams* obiection? And consequently is he not as farre of from prouing as he was in the begynning, vntill he hath made the premisses, or propositions of his argument good? Wherfore this must rest thus for this time, except the Reader being desyrous to be satisfyed in this poynt will haue recourse to diuers Treatises in which it is discussed, and especially to *Bellarmines* 4. bookes *de verbo Dei*, where he shall fynd those bookes which *M. Downam* calleth Apocryphall, euidently conuinced to be Canonicall; and Traditions proued to be necessary, euen by scripture it selfe.

Downās *petitio principij*, & calumniation.

Wherfore I will now only note how *M. Downam* abuseth his Reader, by telling him that we teach, that the scriptures are not perfect, which is a loud and lewd lye; for we acknowledge them all to be written by the suggestion and inspiration of the holy Ghost; all whose wordes and workes are most excellent and perfect, and consequently attayne to the end, to which they were directed. Now the end of Scripture was not to be the only totall, & adequate rule of our fayth, as appeareth euidētly by the māner & methode of it, & *Bellarmine* learnedly explicateth *lib. 4. de verbo Dei cap. 4. & 12.* The like abuse cōmitteth *M. Downam* in affirming that we teach that our owne Traditions are also necessary, and of equall authority with the scriptures: which fraud wilbe easily discouered by any, that shall read but the 2. chapter of *Bellarmines* 4. booke *de verbo Dei*, where hauing deuided all traditions into diuine, Apostolicall, and Ecclesiasticall, he sheweth the authority of ech in these wordes; *Diuine traditions haue the same force,*

The Scriptures are perfect.

The authority of Traditions.

that

that diuine precepts, or the diuine doctrine written in the Ghospell haue: and likwise Apostolicall Traditions not written, haue the same force, with Apostolicall traditions written, as is affirmed in Concil. Trident. sess. 4. and the reason is manifest; for the word of God is not such, nor hath any authority, because it is written in parchement or paper, but because it hath proceeded from God either immediately, as the speaches of our Lord, or by meanes of the Apostles as the decree of the Apostles, Act. 15. Neither doe, or can the heretikes deny this; for, as we will say afterward, the question is not, of how great force the diuine or Apostolicall tradition is, but whether there be any tradition truly diuine or Apostolicall? Now Ecclesiasticall Traditions haue the same force as the Decrees and Constitutions of the Church which are written; for also in a ciuill Common wealth approued customes haue the same force, that written lawes haue; as is manifest distin. 1. can. Consuetudo, & l. Diuturna ff. de legibus. Thus far *Bellarmine*; by which it is manifest, that vnlesse M. *Downam* calleth the diuine and Apostolically traditions, our traditions, which is both false and fooliſh, he abuseth his Reader much, by telling him that we teach our owne traditions, to be of equall authority with the Scriptures. And this shal suffice for this matter, for now it is not time for me to proue, that there are both diuine, and Apostolicall Traditions vnwritten. Let M. *Downam*, or any other take a view of *Bellarmines* proofes, and if they remayn not satisfyed, let them declare their doubts, and difficultyes, and they shalbe answered.

The next opposition, which M. *Downam* maketh betwixt Christ our Prophet and the Pope, is, *by withholding the Scriptures from the people in a strange language; and also by reading and preaching vnto them his and the Papists owne fancyes and inuentions, out of the Legends and liues of Saynts and festiualls &c. insteed of the sincere truth of God.* But here againe M. *Downam* runneth to his ordinary figure, and should proue vnto vs, that Christ hath commaunded that the people should allwayes be permitted to reade the Scriptures in their owne language; or rather, that he hath not left this to the discretion of the Pastours of his Church, to consyder and determine, what foode is conuenient, and what hurtfull for their seuerall flockes and sheep. For it is false, that the Pope absolutely forbiddeth the people to read the Scriptures in vulgar lan-

Downās petitio principij,

Vulgar editions of the Scripture how to be permitted,

guages; as to goe no further, we may plainly see by the practice of our Countrey; but only, when he iudgeth, that they may get more harme then profit by such reading, by reason of their weakneſſe and infirmity (eſpecially hauing commodity as well by Sermons, as other pyous bookes, to know as much, as is fitting for them, and they are capable of:) which that it happeneth many times is ſufficiently proued by *Bellarmine lib. 2. de verbo Dei c. 15.* And the Proteſtants in this deuiſe are not vnlike to the Father of all heretikes, who ſeduced *Eua*, and many of her children ſince, with this pleaſing bayte of ſuperfluous and hurtfull knowledge; by which they withdraw them from the ſecure way of humble obedience, in which only they may ſaue their ſoules.

The Liues of Saintes very profitable.

That other obiection of the Legends and Liues of Saynts is alſo very friuolous; for what can be more profitable, then the examples of vertuous men, who haue expreſſed in their life and conuerſation, a perfect paterne of the imitation of Chriſt, and are no way oppoſite to the ſincere truth of God, but haue byn the chiefe maynteyners and profeſſours therof. But perhaps *M. Downam* will tell vs, that only his *Foxian* Martyrs were ſuch, and therfore he only alloweth of their Legends & Liues. This indeed is his ordinary proofe: wherfore now he deſerueth no other anſwere, then that we beliue him not, as diſcerning a great difference betwixt theſe two generations; which he may alſo perceiue in part, if he be pleaſed to peruſe that learned Worke, in which the relation of theſe his new Saynts, is briefly, yet ſufficiently examined, and compared with the hiſtoryes of our glorious Martyrs, Cõfeſſours, and Virgins.

The 3. Conuerſions.

Another manner of oppoſition obiected by *M. Downam* is, in that *the Pope is the falſe Prophet ſpoken of in the Apocalyps, teaching many hundreds, or Centuryes of errours, and diuers of them fundamentall*; where ſtill you ſee nothing but bare affirmations, without all proofes. And that of the *Apocalyps* hath byn often and largely refuted; the other ſuppoſeth the diſcuſſion of as many queſtions, as there be controuerſyes betwixt vs and the Proteſtants, and therfore I hope the Reader will not beliue this aſſertion, till he

Apoc. 13. The Pope teacheth no errours.

ſeeth

seeth all *Bellarmines* volumes sufficiently confuted, which because he shall neuer see, therfore he will allway at least suspend his iudgement, or rather by perusing the arguments conteyned in the former part of this treatise, certaynly conclude, that this assertion of the Popes being Antichrist, is a most abhominable blasphemy; for there he shall fynd other manner of proofes without any *petitio principy*, which is all that M. *Downam* bringeth.

But now he will come to some particulers, and shew vs that the Pope holdeth those errours, which *Bellarmine* him selfe *reckoneth* vp, as noted by the holy Ghost, for *the peculiar doctrines of Antichrist*. But neither he nor the Author of the *Wardword durst* (in M. Downams opinion) *mention those two doctrines of the deuills, which Paul assigneth to that Apostasy, wherof Antichrist is the head.* But of this I treated a litle before, and shewed that these doctrines belong not to Antichrist, but to other heretikes; and *Bellarmine*, as I also noted in the same place, conuinceth out of *S. Augustine*, that the doctrines of the Pope, are altogeather opposite to these other, of which *S. Paul* speaketh, and *deseruedly* calleth them the doctrines of the diuells; because all heresyes whatsoeuer proceed from them, as from the authors of all lyes, but especially of such pestilent and pernicious lyes, as heresyes are. Wherfore let vs see, how M. *Downam* will proue, that the Pope teacheth those errours, which indeed are noted by the holy Ghost for *the peculiar doctrines of Antichrist*. *The first wherof is to deny Iesus to be Christ*, as *Bellarmine*, and the author of the Wardword *would proue* (saith) M. *Downam out of the* 1. *of Iohn* 2. 22. *and* 4. 3. *and* 2. *Iohn*. 7. Where he addeth the two later places of his owne good wil, for neither of these two authors cyte any more then 1. *Ioan*. 2. 22. Perhaps he meant to supply the other arguments of *Bellarmine*, which he omitteth, and are diuers, as well out of the Scripture, as reason, and Fathers. Well, now let vs examine, what he hath in this place, for all that he sayd in his 2. booke, to which he referreth vs in his margent, hath by vs already examined.

1. *Tim.* 4. 1. 3.

Antichrist shall deny Iesus to be Christ

1. *Ioan*. 2. 22.

See 1. *part*, c. 14. n. 30.

Wherfore his answere now is, *that these places of the Apostle Iohn, doe not speak properly of the grand Antichrist, who is the head*

of the Antichristian body; but of certayne petite Antichrists, or Heretikes of those times, which denyed either of the natures of Christ. This he proueth, because *S. Iohn speaketh of such as were then already come into the world*; by which he plainly discouerth the true cause why he added those two later places; for in them indeed *S. Iohn* signifyeth, that the Antichrist, of whome he speaketh was in some sort in the world in his tyme, viz. in his fore-runners, but in the first he hath no such matter: But this proueth not, that the chiefe Antichrist shall not teach that doctrine, but rather the contrary; since that it is manifest, that his doctrine shalbe altogeather as bad or worse, then that of his fore-runners. And besides if we will stand to *M. Downams* translation out of the Greeke 1. *Io.* 4. 3. Antichrist himselfe is not sayd to be in the world, but only his spirit: Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ὃ ἀκηκόατε ὅτι ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἤδη, though it is somewhat obscurely translated by the Protestants thus: *And this is that spirit of Antichrist, of whome yee haue heard, that he should come, and euen now already is he in the world.* For that (*of whome*) may seeme to be referred to Antichrist; whereas in the Greeke it is playne, that it is referred to his spirit, and consequently had byn better translated (*of which*) especially, if *spirit* had byn added, as it was before, to expresse the greek τὸ. Now Antichrists spirit, no doubt, was in the heretikes of those tymes, though he himselfe were not come. Wherfore in this place we need no better commentary for our latin text, then to haue recourse to the greeke. And by this may the other place 2. *Iohn* 7. be expounded; and the wordes themselues do also signify as much, for *S. Iohn* saith in the plurall mumber, and without an article, that many seducers were gone into the world, who doe confesse Christ; and after addeth in the singuler number with an article, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, this is that seducer, and that Antichrist, *viz.* in his members and fore-runners, because they haue his spirit; by which they confesse not Christ, whom he shall openly deny; for in these wordes *S. Iohn* doth only signify, that this denying or not confessing of Christ in whomsoeuer it be, belongeth to the chiefe Antichrist.

How Antichrist was in the world in S. Iohns time.

1. *Iohn* 4. 3

2. *Iohn* 7

But

But we shall not need to insist any lōger vpon this, since that M. *Downam* is content to graunt, *that Antichrist was in some sort to deny Christ*; that is, *as these Antichrists did, of whome S. Iohn speaketh, so that in outward shew and semblance they professe Christ, but indeed, and truth deny him*. Of this we haue treated lagely before, and proued, that Antichrist shall deny Christ plainly and openly. Now M. *Downam* is to proue the contrary, if he haue it graunted; which he doth very weakly, by telling vs, that Antichrists fore-runners did *in outward shew and semblance professe Christ*. For who doubteth, but that he himselfe shall exceed them farre in opposition to Christ: and yet we also know, that *Simon Magus*, who was one of these fore-runners, denyed Christ openly; and consequently Antichrist himselfe shall much more do so. That also, which he toucheth of the *mystery of iniquity*, and of Antichrists *lying* and *deceyt*, hath byn long since answered; for *S. Paul* sayeth, that this mystery was in his time, when Antichrist was not come, nor reuealed; and consequently it only signifyeth his fore-runners. Now lying and deceyt are common to all seducers and lyers, whatsoeuer their doctrine be: yea the worse their doctrine is, the more lying and deceyt will they vse, to procure it to be receiued. And Antichrist shall vse deceyt chiefly with the *Iewes*, as the text it selfe signifyeth, to whome it were no good perswasiion to make any outward shew or semblance of professing Christ, but rather the contrary, as is manifest. Wherfore though M. *Downam* could shew vs, that the Pope were thus couertly opposed to Christ, yet he should not proue him to be Antichrist, but only one of his fore-runners. And therfore if wee would only shew the falsity of that assertion, we should not need to goe any further.

Antichrist shall openly deny Christ.

See part. 1. c. 14.

2. Thess. 2.

But becausse our desyre is to take away all obiections, therfor we will now also answer all, that M. *Downam* bringeth to shew that the Pope denyeth Christ in any sort whatsoeuer. Wherfore we graunt with *S. Augustine*, that *whosoeuer in deedes denyeth Christ, may in some sort be called Antichrist*, becausse he is in some sort opposite to Christ, and doth cooperate to the Kingdom of sinne, which Christ

To deny Christ in deeds is not to deny him openly. *Tract. 3. in epist. Ioan.*

came into the world to destroy; and we likewise say with *Tully*, that *where the things themselues beare witnesse, wordes are needlesse, viz.* to proue those deedes which are manifest. But if the deedes be such, as may stand with true fayth and profession of Christ, we cannot inferre from them an open denyall of Christ; yea though either wordes or deedes be such, that indeed they destroy fayth, yet this may be with a semblance and shew of fayth, as we see in all heretikes, who are not properly Antichrist, but his fore-runners, and therfore something more then all this is required in Antichrist himselfe. Yea but (sayth M. *Downam*) *the deuills themselues haue in word confessed Christ, whome notwithstanding by their deedes they deny.* All this is very true; for the deuills sometimes are inforced to confesse the truth against their will: and besides they concurre not only with Antichrist himselfe, but also with his fore-runners, and consequently many times doe confesse Christ in shew or word, as heretikes doe; but this is not for want of desyre to abolish the name of Christ altogether, as we see among Infidells: and the like they shall practice in Antichrists tyme, whome they shall assist in all his wickednesse as they did the Iewes in calling our Sauiour *Beelzebub*, and the Protestants in this assertion of theirs, that the Pope is Antichrist. But what meaneth M. *Downam* by all this discourse? Is it not euident, that Heresy, Apostasy, and Infidelity are greater sinnes, then other which are committed either of frailty, or passion? in which notwithstanding men are sayd to deny Christ in deedes? Well let vs see how he proueth, that the Pope denyeth Christ in deedes. *If* (sayth he) *the Pope be a man of sinne (which we shall proue anone) and an aduersary opposed vnto Christ (which now we haue in hand to proue) then it cannot be denyed but that indeed he denyeth Christ.* And this is all which he sayth now: wherfore let vs goe forward, vntill we see, how he will proue the two calumniations.

contra Salust.

How Christ may be denyed indirectly.

7. Secondly (saith M. *Downam*) *he that denyeth Christ in word and doctrine, by consequent and indirectly, howsoeuer openly he doth confesse him, doth indeed deny him; for such is the necessary coherence of truth within it selfe, as nothing can by necessary consequence be deduced from it, which is not also true. And therfore it is impossible,*

that

that the conſequent should be falſe, the antecedent being true. VVherupon it followeth, that whoſoeuer denyeth the conjequent, doth indeed deny the antecedent. And in this ſort did *the Antichriſts, wherof S. Iohn ſpeaketh* (in M. *Downams* iudgement) *deny Chriſt*: which he will haue to be according to *Bellarmines* owne expoſition alſo *lib.* 3. *de Pont. Rom. c.* 14. in which (as we there ſhewed,) he is deceiued: for *S. Iohn* 1. *ep.* 2. 22. which he only alledgeth according to *Bellarmines* expoſition, ſpeaketh of the chief Antichriſt, who ſhall deny Chriſt openly and directly; though in other places he alſo maketh mention of his fore-runners, who ſhall deny Chriſt in this manner, that M. *Downam* ſpeaketh of. But heere alſo it is neceſſary to note, that theſe illations and conſequences muſt not only ſeeme neceſſary to M. *Downam*, or ſome other of his crue; but they muſt be euidently ſuch, ſo that there can no queſtion be made of them: or rather they muſt be declared for ſuch, by thoſe to whome Chriſt hath committed the deciſion of all doubtes in matters which belong to fayth: for there may be many thinges, which ſeeme to follow, by neceſſary conſequence, from ſome principles of fayth; which notwithſtanding may be denyed, without any denyall of Chriſt at all; ſo long as the neceſſity of theſe conſequences is not euident and certaynly knowne. Neither of this can there be any doubt made. Wherfore ſuppoſing that M. *Downam* ſpake in this ſenſe; let vs ſee, how he will proue, that the Pope denyeth Chriſt in this ſort; for I ſhall not need to put the reader in mynd, that Antichriſt, when he cõmeth, ſhall deny Chriſt after another manner.

Firſt then M. *Downam* obiecteth againſt the Pope, that he *denyeth Chriſt to be αὐτόθεος, God of himſelfe, and conſequently Iehoua: for whoſoeuer is Iehoua, he is of, and from himſelfe; for the Deity of the Sonne, and ſo of the holy Ghoſt being the ſelfeſame infinite, eternall, and indiuiſible Eſſence of the Father, is from, and of, and by, and frõ it ſelfe. And who knoweth not* (ſayth M. Downam *that ſuch is the ſimplicity of the diuine Nature, as that God is the Godhead, and the Godhead is God, and conſequently, that Chriſt, as he is God, is the Godhead, which is of and from it ſelfe?* And leaſt we ſhould obiect vnto him the Councell of *Nice*, which plainly affirmeth,

Whether Chriſt be αὐτόθεος, or God of himſelfe.

that Christ is God of God, he preuenteth vs saying; *that we may, and must say so, but in this sense, that Christ, who is God, is from the Father who is God (the word God being taken personally) because the person of the Sonne, who is Deus genitus, God begotten, is from the person of the Father, who is Deus gignens, God begetting, yet is it not likewise true in the abstract.* And a litle after he concludeth thus: *Christ is God of God in respect of his person, and he is also God of himselfe in respect of his Essence, which is of it selfe; he is God of God the name God being vsed personally and relatiuely (for he is God the Sonne of God the Father, and God begotten of God begetting) and he is God of himselfe, the name of God being taken essentially, and absolutely, namely as he togeather with the Father & the holy Ghost is one and the same Iehouah, and only true God.* In which exposition he plainly denyeth, that if the name of God be taken essentially and absolutely, Christ can be sayd to be God of God. Now it is manifest that the name (God) of it selfe, especially when it is affirmed of another, as in this place, is allway so taken; otherwise if this name of God might be taken personally or relatiuely, we might truly say, that there are as many Gods as persons or relations, and consequently we might graunt, that there are three Gods, as well as 3. persons, which were an abhominable blasphemy. Wherfor when the Councell of *Nice* affirmeth, that Christ is God of God, the sense must needes be, that Christ receiueth his essence and Godhead of his Father; which M. *Downam* seemeth also to acknowledge, though perhaps he vnderstood not the matter fully; for thus he writeth: *Howsoeuer the Godhead is communicated from the Father to the Sonne by eternall generation, and from the Father and the Sonne to the holy Ghost by eternall procession &c.* Where he seemeth also to haue seene the difficulty, but was not able to cleare it, and therfor let it passe with an (*howsoeuer*) and only insisted vpon the other assertion, that *the Deity of the Sonne, and so of the holy Ghost being the selfe same infinite, eternall and indiuisible Essence of the Father, is from, and of and by, and for it selfe.* Which last wordes or rather those two (*from*, & *of it selfe*) do need some explication; for they may only signify, that the Deity is not produced or begotten by any other, and in this sense they are true, but not well and properly vsed; because not only that, which

The name (God) is allway taken essentially.

is

is produced or begotten, but likewiſe that which is communicated, is in that reſpect (though otherwiſe of it ſelfe) from, and of him, who doth communicate it, and not from, and of it ſelfe. Wherfore ſince the Deity as it is in the Sonne, is communicated by the Father, as it is in the Sonne, it is alſo from, and of the Father. And conſequently Chriſt is God of God (the name of God being taken eſſentially and abſolutely) becauſe he is God of, and from his Father, who communicateth his owne infinite, eternall, and indiuiſible eſſence vnto him; and not of, and from himſelfe, ſince that he hath not his Eſſence of, and from himſelfe.

Chriſt is God of God, and not of himſelfe.

Yea but (ſayth M. *Downam*) *ſuch is the ſimplicity of the diuine nature, as that God is the Godhead, and the Godhead is God, and conſequently that Chriſt as he is God, is the Godhead, which is of, and from it ſelfe.* To this now the anſwer is eaſy, for though the inference be not alway good from the abſtract to the concrete, yet in this we haue ſhewed, that the Godhead as it is in Chriſt, is not in that reſpect (though in it ſelfe it be) of, and from it ſelfe, but of, and from the Father, who communicateth it to Chriſt; and conſequently Chriſt as he is God, is alſo of, and from his Father, and not of, and from himſelfe. Wherfor likewiſe Chriſt is *Iehouah* of, and from *Iehouah*; for he hath not an eſſence diſtinct or deriued from the eſſence of the Father, but the very ſame eſſence, of which all diſtinct eſſences depend; but this he hath not of, and from himſelfe, but communicated vnto him by the Father. And thus we haue made it playne, that *M. Downam* is much deceiued, when he affirmeth, that the Pope denyeth Chriſt indirectly, and by conſequent, becauſe he denyeth, that Chriſt is αὐτόθεος, God of, and from himſelfe: for indeed this would manifeſtly follow, if he were affirmed to be ſo, ſince that if he were God of himſelfe, and had not his eſſence and Godhead of his Father, he could by no meanes haue the ſame eſſence with his Father, nor indeed be his Sonne, but ſhould neceſſarily haue a diſtinct eſſence, and in reſpect therof be *Deus ingenitus*. Now whether this followeth in *M. Downams* opinion or no, it is hard to ſay, he is ſo intricate: for on the one ſyde, in wordes

Chriſt is Iehouah of Iehouah.

He that denyeth Chriſt to be God of God, denyeth Chriſt indirectly.

he acknowledgeth, that Christ hath the selfe same Essence, of the Father, yea (that in some sort) the Godhead is communicated from the Father to the Sonne, and yet on the other syde he stiffely denyeth, that Christ is God of God, the name of God being taken essentially; which notwithstanding followeth necessarily of the other. Wherfore he must explicate himselfe, and if he will confesse with *Smiler. epist. ad Polon.* that the Sonne hath his Essence from his Father, and only deny, that this Essence is begotten; we will with *Bellarmine lib. 2. de Christo c. 19.* free him from heresy, and only reprehend the manner of his speach, which at least is very absurd, as we haue seene, and *Bellarmine* proueth in the same place. But if he will deny, that Christ hath his essence from his Father, and affirme that he hath it of himselfe; he can hardly be excused, and contradicteth himselfe oftener then once. Wherfore he must perforce recall something of that he sayth; and if he will insist so much vpon this, that he will deny all the rest, which cannot stand with it, he will fall into flat heresy; as our learned Countryman M. W. *Reynolds* not without cause thinketh of *Whitakers*, and *Caluin*. And thus much of this.

lib. 3. Calu. Turcism. c. 7.

Secondly (sayth M. *Downam*) *the Papists deny Christ indirectly, when as not only in heauen they set aboue him his Mother,* « *whome they call the* Queene of Heauen, *desiring her to commaund* « *him, and to shew her selfe to be a Mother* (*as though Christ were, as they payne him, a baby vnder his mothers gouernment*) *for so they say,* Iube Natum, & iure matris impera, *and againe*; monstra te esse matrem &c. *but also on earth, when euery shaueling Priest, can by breathing out a few wordes out of his vncleane mouth, create his maker* (*for so they teach,* Sacerdos est creator creatoris sui, *that is,* the « Priest is maker of his maker: *and againe*; Qui creauit vos, « dedit vobis creare se: he which made you, gaue you « power to make him) *and when he hath so done, offer him* « *vp to his Father, wherin euery Priest among them being the sacrificer, is after a sort preferred aboue Christ, who is the sacrifice.* Thus he. To the former part of which obiection I shall more fitly answere a litle after, where M. *Downam* will repeate both it, and many other of like sort, concer-

Stella Clericor. serm. discip. sect. 12. apud Iuestum.

concerning the honour we yſe to giue to our B. Lady; wherfore now omitting his vnciuill ſcurrility, I briefly anſwere the latter part: in which firſt as you ſee the authors, which he alledgeth for thoſe ſpeaches which he obiecteth, are very obſcure, and of litle credit; and we are not to defend, whatſoeuer euery Preacher deliuereth by way of amplification, and exaggeration in his ſermon; but what the Catholike Church, or at leaſt ſome chiefe Doctours doe teach, who all agree, that by the force of the wordes of conſecration pronounced by the Prieſt, the ſubſtance of bread and wine is conuerted into the body and bloud of our Sauiour. And for this they haue the teſtimonyes of all the auncient Fathers, as in part may be ſeene in *Bellarmine lib. 3. de Sacrament. Euchariſt. c. 20.*

How Chriſt cõmeth to be preſẽt in the B. Sacramẽt.

But in the explication of this tranſmutation, Catholike Diuines do differ; ſome holding that our Sauiour commeth to be preſent by a new production, others only by adduction, as they call it, but neyther graunt, that this action is creation; becauſe our Sauiour doth not begyn to be by it, but only to be in this place: and beſides the ſubſtance of bread and wine, are conuerted into his body and bloud, neyther of which can ſtand with creation properly taken; yet notwithſtanding the holy Fathers ſomtyme vſe the compariſon of creation to expreſſe this action; as S. *Ambroſe lib. 4. de Sacram. c. 4. Vides ergo, quàm ſit operatorius ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini Ieſu, vt inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quantò magis operatorius eſt, vt ſint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur? Cælum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat, ſed audi dicentem: Ipſe dixit, & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt; Ergo tibi vt reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationem dico tibi, quòd iam corpus eſt Chriſti; Ipſe dixit & factum eſt, ipſe mandauit & creatum eſt.* Wherfor thou ſeeſt, how effectuall the ſpeach of Chriſt is: wherfore if ther be ſo great force in the ſpeach of our Lord Ieſus, that thoſe thinges ſhould begyn to be, which were not; how much more effectuall is it, that thoſe things be, which were, and that they be changed into ſome other thing? Heauen was not, the ſea was not, the earth was not; but heare him that ſayth; He ſayd, and they were made, he com-

maunded, and they were created; wherfore that I may anſwer thee, Chriſts body was not before conſecration, but after conſecration I ſay vnto thee, that now there is the body of Chriſt. He ſpake, and it was done: he commaunded, and it was created. Hitherto *S. Ambroſe*; where we ſee, that he is not afrayd to affirme, that the body of Chriſt is created after conſecration. The like ſpeaches vſe ſome other Fathers, as *S. Hierome ad Heliodor. & Euagr.* where he affirmeth, that Prieſts doe make Chriſts body with their holy (not vncleane) mouth, *Sacerdotes Chriſti corpus ſacro ore conficiunt*; which may ſeeme to iuſtify thoſe two Authors, eſpecially in their Sermons, where we vſe rather to explicate things by ſimilitudes and examples, then to ſtand ſtrictly vpon the propriety of tearmes, which is vſed in ſchooles; and it were no hard matter to fynd ſome places in the ſcripture it ſelfe, where the word creation is ſomewhat extended to ſignify another action, which is not properly creation; as to omit *Eccl.* 1. and 24. wher it is taken for the generation of the diuine word. *Eſa.* 48. Darkneſſe is ſayd to be created &c. But this ſhall ſuffice for this poynt.

Not the Sacrificer, but he to whome the Sacrifice is offered is preferred before Chriſt.

The other clauſe which *M. Downam* addeth, as though the Prieſt being the ſacrificer, were in any ſort preferred aboue Chriſt, who is the ſacrifice, is very ridiculous; for the Prieſt is but the inſtrument of Chriſt, as the words alſo are, and therfor if it were true, that the ſacrificer were preferred before the ſacrifice, Chriſt ſhould only be preferred before himſelfe, and not the Prieſt who is but his inſtrument. But indeed the ſacrificer is not preferred before the ſacrifice, but only he to whome the ſacrifice is offered; and in acknowledgement of whoſe ſupreme dignity and honour it is imolated. Thirdly, *M. Downam* obiecteth, *that we appoynt vnto Chriſt a Vicar to ſupply his abſence, aſſigning vnto him all power which is in heauen and earth, yea infin te power, which we ſay is tranſlated from Chriſt vnto him.* And this in *M. Downams* opinion is to make *Chriſt a titular King, and with the Epicures an idle God, who hath as it were reſigned all his right and authority to the Pope*: for anſwer of which, now it ſhall ſuffice to informe the Reader, that the Pope (in our opinion) only in

part

part supplyeth the want of Christs visible presence vpon earth, as a Vice-Roy doth the absence of his King; by which the Prince neither translateth or resigneth his right, authority, or power, to his substitute, but is as absolute, as before; and may interpose himselfe as freely in the gouernement of those subiects, as though he had not appoynted any Vice-Roy at all; though commonly in his absence he doth nothing but by him. Now our B. Sauiour, though he be not visibly present, yet inuisibly he is neuer absent, in which sort he concurreth as well with the Pope, as with euery inferiour officer, and priuate man; in such sort as euery ones obligation and need requireth. What and how great authority he hath committed to the Pope, is not now time to explycate; only it is false that we affirme, that he hath all the power, which Christ had vpon earth, as shall be more conueniently declared in the next Chapter; to which *M. Downam* remitteth himselfe for his proofes.

The Pope only in part supplyeth the want of Christs visible presence.

Now let vs see, how he goeth forward: his next obiection is, that we hold *Christs body to be multipresent, that is present in many or rather infinite places at once, and discontinued; for that we say that it being in heauen is also present really and corporally vpon earth, whersoeuer our Masse is celebrated, or our host reserued, howsoeuer it is not in the space betwixt heauen and earth, nor in those places where the host is not,* which (in *M. Downams* iudgement) is, *to assigne many or rather innumerable bodyes to our Sauiour Christ.* In this place *M. Downam* vseth more sincerity in relating our doctrine, then he is wont, and yet he could not let it passe, without some addition of his owne; by adding the word (infinite) for the rest indeed we teach, and take it to be an euident truth, declared as well by scriptures, as by the consent of all the Fathers, since Christs time, as *Bellarmine* largely sheweth in his bookes de *Eucharistia*. And we cannot see, how this can any way redound to the indirect denyall of Christ; for it is such a priuiledge, as must needes seeme glorious in all mens eyes. And perhaps *M. Downam* himselfe in some occasions would take it for a benefit; at least his friend *Beza* would haue esteemed it so, when because he could not at one and the same time be

How Christ is present in many places.

presēt with his fayre *Candida*, and his filthy *Andebertus*, he brake forth into that pittyfull exclamation, *O duram omnium necessitatem!* And indeed this is not the least cause, why these men haue so great difficulty in vnderstanding this high mystery, for that commonly they are so drowned in all sensuality, that they can by no meanes be perswaded, that our Sauiour out of his most pure and ardent affection to his Church, and seruants, would imploy his infinite power, to comfort and assist them, with his true and reall presence; for that which M. *Downam* obiecteth, is a meere iest, that the being in many places, should argue many bodyes, since euery child may perceiue, that it only inferreth diuers manners of being, according to the diuersity of places.

In his verses printed by *Robert Stephanus* at *Paris*, 1584.

But M. *Downam* addeth, that we say, that his very body which *is really present in the Masse, is voyde of quantity & quality, not circumscribed, nor visible, nor any way sensible, and consequently no body*; where M. *Downam* returneth to his ordinary veyne of calumniation; for it is false, that we affirme our Sauiours Body in the B. Sacrament to be voyde of quantity and quality; yea we censure them of temerity at least, if not of heresy or errour, who hold any such opinion: we graunt indeed that it is neither visible nor sensible, because it hath no extension in respect of place, without which it cannot be the obiect of our senses; as neither be circumscribed, for this is nothing els, then to be so extended, that one part of the body be correspondent to the like in place, which as I sayd before, cannot be in our Sauiours Body, as it is in the B. Sacrament, because as it is there, it hath no extension in respect of place, which is a secondary propriety of quantity, and consequently separable, as is most learnedly and plainly declared by N. D. in his review of ten publike disputations d. 3. §. 4. which whole Treatise I earnestly desyre my Reader, euen as he tendereth his owne saluation, to read, if he be not fully satisfied concerning this controuersy of the Reall Presence. for now I cannot stand to treat of it at large, my purpose only being to answere M. *Downams* cauills; who to conclude this poynt, noteth our absurdity, who (as

he ſayth) *circumſcribe the Deity of the Father, whiles we reſemble the ſame by pictures or images; and deny the humanity of the Sonne to be circumſcribed; and conſequently againſt all reaſon, make the Deity finite, and the Humanity infinite:* in both which aſſertions he either miſtaketh the matter much, or abuſeth vs and his Reader egregiouſly, for he cannot chooſe but know, that we go not about to reſemble or expreſſe the Deity of the Father, as it is in it ſelfe, by any pictures or images, but only to repreſent his diuine Maieſty in ſuch formes, as he himſelfe hath vouchſafed either to appeare in, or to be compared to in the holy Scripture; as for that he is both called by *Daniel*, *Antiquus Dierum*, and appeared in that forme to him, in a garment as white as ſnow, and hauing the haire of his head as cleane woll, we alſo paynt him in the forme of an old man. And in like manner becauſe the holy Ghoſt appeared at our Sauiours baptiſme in the forme of a Doue, we commonly expreſſe his diuine Maieſty in that ſort. Likewiſe it is falſe, that we deny the humanity of Chriſt to be circumſcribed, for as he is in Heauen, he is after that manner; but we deny that this doth hinder him to be ſupernaturally in other places, and in other manners.

How God the Father and the holy Ghoſt may be paynted?

Daniel 7.

Matt. 3. &c.

M. Downam concludeth his diſcourſe concerning our denyall of Chriſt indirectly, and by conſequent, with the *office of Chriſt*, that is his *Mediation*, which he thinketh that we altogether ouerthrow, when we *ioyne infinite others with him; for the Apoſtle ſayth, that there is but one mediatour betwixt God and man, and this one alone our Sauiour Chriſt is, or els he is none at all.* In anſwere to this I will recite *Bellarmines* wordes, becauſe they explicate the whole matter. Wherefore *lib. 1. de Sanct. beat. c. 20.* he anſwereth this very place obiected by *M. Downam* in theſe wordes: *I anſwere, that for three cauſes Chriſt is called the one and only mediatour of God and man. First, becauſe he alone was Mediatour by manner of redemption; for we muſt note, that one Mediatour may reconcile two that are at variance in three ſorts; one way, declaring which of them requireth that which is iuſt; another way, by paying the Creditour inſteed of the debtour; thirdly, by intreating, and praying the creditour to forgiue the debt. The firſt way, which is by declaring which of them requireth that which is iuſt, hath*

2. Tim. 2. 5.

How Chriſt is our only Mediatour.

« no place betwixt God and man; because it is manifest, that God hath
« byn offended by man. After the second manner only Christ is the Mediatour
« of God and men, and in this manner speaketh the Apostle, as is manifest,
« as well by that, which he addeth: Who gaue himselfe a redemption for
« all, as also, because he writeth to S. Timothy the Bishop of Ephesus
« in Asia, where at that time the heresy of Simon was rise, who brought
« in Angells insteed of Christ; for which cause also in his epistles ad Ephes.
« & Colos. who are people in Asia, he often inculcateth, that Christ is
How the Saynts are mediatours « the head of the whole Church, and that by him alone, the world hath
« byn reconciled to God. After the last manner, the Saynts also may
« be called Mediatours betwixt God, and those for whome they pray; neither
« need we feare to translate the name mediatour to Saynts, as we trans-
« ferre vnto them the name Aduocate and intercessour which are attributed
« to Christ Rom. 8. & 1. Iohn 2. For S. Gregory Nazianzen in
« oration. ad Greg. Nissen. calleth the Martyrs mediatours betwixt vs
« and God; and S. Cyril. lib. 12. thesaur. c. 10. sayth, that all the
« Prophets and Apostles were mediatours; and Moyses himselfe Deuter. 5.
« sayth of himselfe: I was a sequestour and meanes betwixt the Lord and you
« at that time. To which wordes the Apostle alluding Galat. 3. sayth,
« that the old law, was ordeyned in the hand of the mediatour, that is, of
« Moyses. And Heb. 9. & 12. he calleth Christ the mediatour of the new
« testament, to distinguish him from Moyses, who was the mediatour
« of the old testament. Another cause why Christ is called the only me-
« diatour, is, because Christ is not only mediatour in respect of his office,
« because he reconcileth man to God, but also in respect of his nature, be-
« cause he is in the middest betwixt God and man, since that he is both God
« and man; which was necessary to reconcile man to God. This reason is
« giuen by almost all the Fathers; as S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostome, Theo-
« philact, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and others in hunc locum Pauli; as
« also by S. Epiphan. in Ancorat. ante med. S. Ciril l. 12. thesaur.
« c. 10, & lib. de trinitat. ante med. S. Hilar. lib. 9. de trin. non
« procul ab initio. S. Augustin. lib. 9. ciuitat. Dei c. 17. and S. Ful-
« gent. lib. de fide ad Petr. c. 2.

« The third cause is, because Christ is the mediatour of all men, in
« such sort, that he himselfe needeth no mediatour; for the other Saynts,
« although they be Mediatours betwixt God and vs, because they ob-
« tayne fauours of God for vs by their prayers; yet they also stood in need
« to be reconciled to God by their mediatour Christ; and now also,
« whatsoeuer they obteyne for vs, they obtayne it of God, by
« Christ

Chriſt. But Chriſt neither hath needed, nor doth need any mediatour, either for himſelfe or vs, but as it is ſayd Heb. 7. He hath acceſſe by himſelfe to God, neuer leauing to make interceſſion for vs. This reaſon did S. Auguſtine follow, lib. 2. cont. Parmen. c. 8. All Chriſtian men (ſayth he) doe commend themſelues to one anothers prayers; but he, for whome none maketh interceſſion, but he for all, he is the only and true mediatour Hitherto *Bellarmine*, which is much more then was neceſſary for *M. Downams* obiection, but that I was deſirous, that the matter ſhould be fully explicated, and *M. Downams* groſſe abſurdity might be the more palpable, who bringeth no other proofes that the Pope is Antichriſt, but only ſtale arguments in particuler controuerſyes long ſince anſwered; which is the moſt idle *petitio principij* that can be imagined.

Downam *petitio principij*

8. Thus much for the denying of Chriſt indirectly. Now *M. Downam* commeth a degree further, and will ſhew vs, how *diuers Popes haue denyed Chriſt directly & expreſſely, though priuatly and among their fauourites; and not that only, but haue ſhewed themſelues alſo to haue byn meere Atheiſts, and Deuills incarnate*; but firſt he will beare vs in hand that this is a worke of ſupererogation in him, and that Antichriſt was not to go thus farre; but for this he bringeth no proofes, and therfor I ſhall not need to ſtay the Reader therin, but anſwer *M. Downams* affirmation with a denyall, and remit the triall to our former encounters concerning this point, in which we haue alſo proued, that this expreſſe denyall of Chriſt in Antichriſt ſhal be moſt publike; which *M. Downam* confeſſeth that the Pope hath not done; but obiecteth that it *is nothing, for the diuells themſelues haue publikely profeſſed Ieſus to be Chriſt*, which is a very good argument, that thoſe diuells were not Antichriſt, nor thoſe times in which they did ſo, the times of Antichriſt. But let *M. Downam* ſhew vs, that the diuells in the time of Antichriſt ſhall publikely acknowledg Ieſus to be Chriſt; and then we will graunt him, that he ſayth ſomething to the purpoſe, which now he altogether ſpeaketh from. But let vs ſee what he obiecteth, againſt ſome particuler Popes, though this alſo be nothing at all to the purpoſe now in hand, not only becauſe they publikely profeſſed Chriſt, which Antichriſt ſhall not doe;

See part. 2. c. 14.

The diuells in the time of Antichriſt ſhal not publikely profeſſe Ieſus to be Antichriſt.

[illegible] because it is not a few particuler Popes which now we stand vpon, but all the Popes from the yeare 607. til this day, and so forward to the end of the world.

Iohn 22.

The first Pope which *M. Downā* nameth is *Iohn* the 22. who sayth, he denyed the immortality of the soule, and of some is called *Iohn* the 23. of others 24. But M. *Downam* will not stand vpon this, and therfore he bringeth him in with a certayne figure, by which he telleth vs, that he will *omit him*, though he meaneth nothing lesse. But indeed if he had byn wise he would haue omitted him altogether; for by speaking of this Pope, he doth but renew the shame of his *M. Caluin*, who was the first author of this calumniation against this Pope; and is conuinced by *Bellarmine lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. c. 14.* to haue told 5, grosse lyes in his narration therof. True it is, that though this Pope was free from this, yet he held another errour, in denying, that the soules of the Saynts, doe see God before the resurrection of their bodyes: but at that time the contrary was not defined, as it hath byn since, after which, *Caluin* was not afrayd to hold Pope *Iohns* assertion, which the Pope recalled at his death. There was something the like obiection made against *Iohn* the 23, *in Concil. Constant. sess. 11.* as *Bellarmine* sheweth in the same place; but both the obiection was false, or at least without sufficient proofe, and this *Iohn* was no lawfull, or certayn Pope, there being three togeather at that time, and not knowne which of their elections was lawfull, for which cause they were all three put back by the authority of the same Councell, and another chosen in their place.

Iohn 23.

After Pope *Iohn* M. *Downam* nameth other 4. with one breath, in these wordes: *VVere not Alexander the 6. and Sixtus the 4. Iulius 2. and Paulus 3. besydes diuers others, very Atheists?* To which the answer is easy, that they were not, and by right we should put M. *Downam* to his proofes. But yet to say a word of each, we graunt, that *Alexander* the 6. was a wicked Prince, defiled with many and notorious vices; but we fynd not, that he held any one opinion against true religion, and much lesse, that he was an Atheist, or denyed God; except M. *Downam* will infer this out of his wicked life.

Alexander 6.

life. But this were not to proue him to haue denyed Christ expressely, but only in deedes; which are very different according to *M. Downams* owne distinction; and it is nothing at all against vs, who neuer denyed, that the Popes may be of euill life, as well as other men.

Sixtus 4. which followeth, was so far from Atheisme, that he was a most learned and pious Pope, as is manifest, as well by his many learned workes, as also by his large almse-deedes, and many other pious monuments, especially to the honour of our blessed Lady, to whose deuotiō he was very particulerly addicted. Neyther is it easy to find anything worthy blame in this Pope, for euen his warres, which may seeme most culpable, were testimonyes of his piety; he hauing first waged them against the Turke, till he was diuerted by other necessary and domesticall occasions. Neyther will *M. Downam* be able to proue the contrary of this, out of any approued author, for what his authors of *Catalogus testium* can obiect, except they alledge better authors then themselues, wilbe of no more force with any discreet Reader, then if *M. Downam* did deliuer it vpon his owne bare credit. *Sixtus* 4.

Iulius the 2. was also indeed a warlike Pope, for which some, and especially the French condemne him much, because he was their chiefest aduersary, and obtayned very notable victoryes against them. But vnlesse he would haue permitted the whole Ecclesiasticall Estate to haue fallen to decay, he could not haue done any otherwise, it being already much wasted through the fault of *Alexander* 6. to whome *Iulius* being Cardinall was allway opposite, and therfore liued in banishmēt from *Rome*, in a manner all that Popes time: wherfore other authors do much commend *Iulius* for those his warres, as both pious and necessary. And what other *Atheisme* besides this (which is rather an argument of great piety and religion, especially in an old and sickly man altogeather vnacquaynted with such courses) I can synd none. *Iulius* 2. *Paulus Iouius, & Onuphrius.*

There remayneth *Paulus* 3. who of all others can least be touched with this obiection, being indeed a most Paulus 3.

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learned, pious, prudent, zealous, and curteous Prince; as might easily be confirmed by many particuler examples of ech. But my intent is not now to wryte his prayses; wherfore it shalbe sufficient to mention those 3. worthie actions, for euery one of which he deserueth immortall fame. The first is the indiction of the holy and Oecumenicall Councell of *Trent*, in which he very well declared his great zeale against heretikes, and his desyre to reduce them to the Catholike Church. The second, his continuall endeuour to vnite the myndes of those most Catholike and Christian Princes *Charles* the 5. and King *Francis* of *France*; for which he spared no trauaile nor paynes, vndertaking in person, long and laborious iourneys, in his weake and wearyed old age. And all this to no other end, then that these renowmed Princes being reconciled one to another, might ioyntly assayle the *Turke*, who at that time threatned the inuasion of Christendome. Neither did he spare his owne purse, but contributed most bountifully to these pious and Christian warres.

His three worthy actions.

The third action, which I will mention, and which perhaps will displease *M. Downam* no lesse then the former, is the institution and confirmation of the most religious Society of Iesus, by which fact (in the opinion of *M. Downams* friends, the authors of *Catalogus testium*) he shewed himselfe to haue a desyre to establish popery, that is the Catholike religion, and we see by the effect, that he aymed not amisse, but discouered his great wisedom no lesse in this, then in the rest of his excellent endeuours for the good of Christendome. And can any man be so senseless, as to obiect Atheisme to this zealous and pious Pope? It is hard to ghesse what should moue *M. Downam* to this absurdity, except we coniecture by that, which we fynd in *Catalogus testium*, which obiecteth that this Pope was delighted with the study of Iudiciary Astrology, by which if they meane to accuse him of any vnlawfull art, they are far wide. It is true indeed, that he was much addicted to the study of the lawfull mathematicall sciences, as well as of the rest, for which cause also he highly respected all learned men. But that he gaue himselfe to the practice of any dishoneſt art,

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can by no meanes be ſuſpected, vnleſſe ſome enuious enemy will inferre it out of his eminent and excellent wiſedom: which beſides his naturall gifts, and his great induſtry was confirmed by the large experience of almoſt 60. yeares, in which he had byn employed in the managing of the publike and moſt important affayres of the Church.

But I will not now ioyne iſſue with that lying *Catalogue*, which is not aſhamed to affirme, that he came to be Cardinall and Pope *turpiſſimis artibus*, by moſt diſhoneſt meanes; wheras the contrary is moſt certayne and notorious: for he was appoynted euen by his predeceſſour, deſyred by the Cardinalls to accept that dignity preſently after his death, before they went into the *Conclaue*; he vtterly refuſing, the matter was put of till the due and accuſtomed time; at which he was choſen by the common conſent of all without any open contradiction of any; in ſomuch that *Onuphrius* writeth in this manner of his election: *Nulla vnquam à multis ſæculis comitia, ſincerius, ſimpliciùs, concordiùſq; inita peractaq; ſunt, quum nullo liuore protracta, nullo ambitu corrupta, nullo; demum metu præcipitata fuerint*; There was no Conclaue for many ages more ſincerely, ſimply, and with greater concord, either begun or ended, for this was neither prolonged by enuy, nor corrupted by ambition, nor finally precipitated, or too much haſtened by any feare. Thus he, and with this I will end my anſwer concerning theſe 4. Popes. Now let vs heare how M. *Downam* goeth forward: *VVere not* (ſayth he) *more then twenty of them knowne Necromancers, and Sorcerers? not to ſpeake of them, which were not knowne, which renouncing Chriſt our Sauiour, betooke themſelues to the diuell; As namely Sylueſter the 2. Benedict 9. Gregory 5. and Gregory 7. who alſo in a rage caſt the Euchariſt, that is according to their opinion the very body of Chriſt, into the fyre, becauſe it did not anſwer to his queſtions, when as he conſulted therwith.* Thus doth M. *Downam* take on againſt the Popes without any proofe at all; But let vs examine the particulers. *In vita Pauli 3.*

Firſt then *Sylueſter* the 2. is indeed accuſed by diuers authors of that crime; but he is cleared by more; and that which importeth moſt, by thoſe which liued neareſt his owne time, as *Ditmarus lib.* 6. a moſt graue writer of that Sylueſter the 2.

time, and *Helgaldus in vita Roberti Francorũ Regis*, which King was one of this *Syluesters* schollers before he was Pope; both which authors commend him much, and the latter affirmeth that he did not only for his great wisedome deserue to be promoted as he was, but that he was a very vertuous Pope, and much giuen to almes &c. With these agreeth also the testimony of Pope *Sergius*, who within 5. yeares succeded him in the Popedome, and was by the consent of all Authors a most holy man; and wrote an epitaph, which is yet extant vpon Pope *Syluesters* tombe; in which among other commendations, he addeth this, that by his meanes *Gaudet omne seclum, frangitur omne reum*: the whole world reioyced, and all wickednesse was ouerthrowne.

Neither can M. *Downam* produce any one testimony against Pope *Syluester* of any Author, which wrote before that schismaticall and lying *Benno*, who indeed seemeth to be the first broacher of all these slaunderous reportes, not only against this Pope, but against all the rest, which M. *Downam* nameth; though I know not for what cause some authors followed him against Pope *Syluester*, but not against the other; except it be for the very same cause, which I touched in Pope *Paul* the 3. for indeed Pope *Syluester* was excellently learned in the Mathematicall sciences, wherof he also wrote diuers learned treatises, recorded by many Authors, but most distinctly by *Trithemius*. And this coniecture is much confirmed by the rude ignorance of that age wherin this Pope liued, which as *Bellarmine* well noteth *lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. c. 12.* was greater then of any other, so that whosoeuer at that time professed any knowledge in philosophy, but especially in the mathematikes was presently deemed to be a Sorcerer.

Now for *Benedict 9. Gregory* the 6. (for him M. *Downam* should haue named, not *Gregory* the 5. of whome there can be no such suspition) and *Gregory* the 7. no author euer accused them of any such crime, besydes the foresayd *Benno*; and now of late the Protestants which follow him, against all other authors whatsoeuer; of which *Bellarmine eod. lib. 6. 13.* reckoneth 32. who all write honourably of Pope

Gregory

Gregory the 7. against that Schismaticks false testimony. *Benedict* the 9. is indeed registred commonly for an euill Pope, but it was because he had nothing in him, rather then for Sorcery, which argueth a busy head. And so writeth *Platina* of him; *Romani Benedictum hominem ignauum, & nullius pretij perosi, è Sede deyciunt.* The same *Platina* writeth also a miracle which happened at *Gregory* the 6. his death, in testimony of his sanctity, and that the calumniations, which were giuen out against him were false. But howsoeuer this be, the relation of that worthy author *Otto Frisingensis c.* 31. seemeth to be certayn. He therfor recordeth from the *Romans* owne mouthes, that this *Gregory* the 6. before called *Gratian*, being a religious good Priest, seing *Benedict* the 9. *Siluester* the 3. whome the *Romanes* had erected against the former, and another whome he nameth not, to haue deuided the Churches liuing amongst them, and placed themselues in 3. seuerall Churches at *Rome*, viz. *S. Peters*, *S. Iohn Laterans*, and *S. Maria Maior*; by which meanes all went to ruyne; moued with compassion and zeale, he perswaded them all three to leaue that holy seate by assigning them the reuenews as before. And because *Benedict* seemed to be of most authority, to him he left the reuenews of *England*: for which cause the Cittizens did elect the same Priest, as the deliuerer of the Church of God, to be Pope, and called him *Gregory* the 7. (others commonly call him *Gregory* the 6.)

Benedict the 9.

Gregory the 6.

Thus *Otto*; who also afterward declareth how he was perswaded by the Emperour to leaue his dignity, as though he had committed symony; but was cleare in Pope *Gregory* the 7. his iudgment, who also for loue & respect to him, called himselfe by that name: with this doth *Platina* also in part agree, writing that *Benedict* the 9. did freely resigne to *Gregory* the 6. *or rather (sayth he) as some affirme, sold the Popedome*; which latter opinion arose from the composition which *Otto* recordeth, and was much confirmed by the Emperours iudgement, in the meeting of Bishops which he made for that purpose. See also *Hermanus Contract. in Chron.* and *Leo Ostien lib.* 2. *c.* 80. *&* 82.

As for *Gregory* the 7. we haue sayd sufficiently already, he being

Greg. 7.

being cleared from the false accusation of *Bemo*, by so many and so graue testimonyes; and that, which is added in the last place, that he in rage did cast the Eucharist into the fyre, is such a fiction, that it will not be easy to fynd any author at all, who will affirme it. At least I can meet with none, though I haue searched with some diligence both *Catalogus testium*, and others; wherfore it must be fathered vpon M. *Downam* himselfe, vntill he produceth some other; as also the two next, which immediatly follow, of *Clement* the 7. and *Iulius* the 3. for he bringeth no authors, and *appendix Catalogi testium*, which is very diligent in this kind, and wanted no will to gather such notes against the Pope, durst not aduenture vpon these two egregious lyes.

Clement 7.

Iulius 3.

That fable of *Leo* the 10. it toucheth in some sort, but differeth from *M. Downams* relation out of *Sibrand. Lubb. de Pap. Rom. lib.* 10. *c.* 18. and that which they relate of the word (fable) ill applyed by that Pope, seemeth indeed to be a very fable, except we will say, that Leo vsed the word (*fabula*) for a true history, as it is vsed somtimes; But the former is far more likely. And thus we haue discussed all the friuolous obiections of M. *Downam* concerning the Popes denyall of Christ in any manner whatsoeuer; though he obiecteth nothing directly to the purpose now in hand, of prouing the Pope to be Antichrist, since that it is manifest that Antichrist shall openly and publikely deny and oppose himselfe to Christ. But yet it was necessary to let nothing passe vnexamined, which might seeme to make any way against the Pope, least *M. Downam* might by some vayne florish of a faygned victory, deceiue those of litle capacity, and weake iudgement; for the other 3. doctrines, which Antichrist is noted in Scripture to teach at his comming, M. *Downam* remitteth himselfe to the answer of *Bellarmines* arguments, where we also haue confuted, whatsoeuer he could say for himselfe.

Leo 10.

See 1. part. c. 14

9. Thus much then for the opposition to Christ as our Prophet. Now M. *Downam* addeth, *that to the priesthood of Christ our only Priest, and mediatour, who according to the Scriptures, with the oblation of himselfe once made, hath perfectly redeemed*

Heb. 10. 12. 14.

vs, are opposed. 1. *our priesthood, wherby Christ is daily offered, and his sacrifice repeated, in the Masse propitiatory (as we say) both for the quick and the dead.* In which obiection, though M. *Downam* bringeth no proofes, yet he toucheth 2. or 3. poynts, which need some explication for the better satisfaction of the Reader. First then wheras he sayth, that Christ is our only Priest and mediatour; we explicated a litle before, in what sense that is to be vnderstood; And now we further add, that as Christ is our only Priest and mediatour, so is he also our only Mr. as he himselfe sayth, *Matth.* 23. and yet there be many Doctours and Maisters, his vicegerents and ministers, as is manifest 1. *Tim.* 2. *&* 2. *Tim.* 1. where *S. Paul* calleth himselfe, a doctor, or teacher, and maister, and 1. *Corin.* 3. he calleth both himselfe and others, Gods coadiutors and ministers. Likewise 2. *Corin.* 5. he maketh himselfe Christs Legate, and Vice-gerent. The same may be also exemplifyed in that Christ is the Pastour of all his sheepe, and giueth baptisme, and the other Sacraments, and yet *M. Downam* will not deny that he himselfe and his fellowes, are Pastours, doctours, and ministers: And this without any derogation at all to Christ; wherof if they will not admit the like in being Priests, they must bring some other reasons, then because Christ is our only Priest.

How Christ is our only Priest.

The second poynt, which M. *Downam* toucheth; is that Christ according to the Scriptures with the oblatiō of himselfe once made, hath perfectly redeemed vs. To which he opposeth, that by our Priesthood Christ is daily offered, and his sacrifice repeated in the Masse. But this opposition is easily taken away, if the matter be but briefly explicated; for we doubt not, but that Christ hath perfectly and sufficiently redeemed vs with that oblation, which he once made of himselfe vpon the Crosse; the force and vertue wherof is applyed vnto vs by the sacrifice of the Masse, as by the Sacraments and other meanes. And we affirme not (as M. *Downam* falsely belyeth vs) that this sacrifice of the Crosse in respect of the manner therof, is repeated or reiterated in the Masse; for who euer sayd, that Christ dyeth in the Masse, as he died vpon the Crosse? But

Christs sacrifice vpon the crosse is not repeated in the Masse.

this his death and bloudy sacrifice is remembred and represented in this other sacrifice of the Masse, wherin he is daily offered after another far different manner. And as for the places of Scripture, which M. *Downam* quoteth, they are nothing to the purpose, nor against vs; for they speak only either of the sacrifice of the Crosse, or of those in the old law, all which no doubt are ceased, and ought not to be repeated or reiterated any more.

Heb. 10. 18. 14.

How the Sacrifice of the Masse is propitiatory.

Neither doth the third poynt, which M. *Downam* toucheth, proue the contrary of that which hath byn sayd; for though we affirme the sacrifice of the Masse to be propitiatory both for the quick and the dead; yet this is to be vnderstood in a far different manner, from that, in which the sacrifice of the Crosse is sayd to be propitiatory, for this was a most sufficient price, and a iust satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world; so that there is no other sacrifice either necessary or required to obtayn this price. In which sense *S. Paul* sayth *Heb.* 10. that now there *is no remission for sinne*; because the Price therof is fully payed by the death and passion of Christ. But yet wee need to haue this price applyed particulerly to euery one of vs, as is most manifest, otherwise all Sacraments, and good workes, yea fayth it self, and preaching were of no effect; for they can only serue to apply the fruit of Christs passion, and the price of our redemption vnto vs. And in this sort also is the sacrifice of the Masse, in which Christ is daily offered, propitiatory, in that it is one of the meanes, which God of his infinite goodnes hath left vs, for this application: to which purpose also did all the sacrifices of the law serue: for those in that tyme were saued, and sanctified by the meritts of Christs passion, as well as we are now. And they had their meanes of application, among which one was their sacrifices, and we haue ours far more excellent, as well in this sacrifice, as in all the rest. And thus much shall suffice in this place, for it is not now time to treat of this matter at large, as *Bellarmine* hath done in his two bookes *de Missa*, to which I remit the curious Reader, and in particuler to *lib.* 1. *c.* 25. where he discusseth these and other obiections.

Secondly

Secondly M. *Downam* opposeth to Christs Priesthood, *our owne satisfactions, as prices of sinne, opposed to the satisfaction of Christ.* But he should haue shewed vs, in what this oppositio consisteth; for we affirme, that our satisfactions are so far from being opposed to the satisfaction of Christ, that they necessarily suppose it, and that in diuers respects; for first we acknowledge, that without the satisfaction of Christ, neither all the men in the world, nor all the Angells in heauen, could haue satisfyed sufficiently for one mortall sinne. Secondly, now that Christ hath satisfyed for the Sinnes of the whole word, we confesse that all our actions, which in any sort concurre to the forgiuenesse of our sinnes, proceed from the grace, which is giuen vs by him. Thirdly we also teach, that all our good actions, which we doe before our sinnes be forgiuen by the grace of God, are not satisfactions for them, but only dispositions required of our part; that our sinnes, and the eternall payne due for them, may be freely forgiuen for the merites and satisfaction of our B. Sauiour. Fourthly we also affirme, that this remission is so complete and absolute in baptisme, that how many soeuer either mortall or veniall Snnes haue byn committed before it, they are all fully and wholly remitted as well as the originall, so that there is no further satisfaction required for them at our hands; but they are all entirely pardoned by the merits and satisfaction of our B. Sauiour, as hath byn sayd. Fifthly for the Synnes committed after baptisme, we likewise graunt, that both their guilt, and the eternall payne due vnto them is remitted by contrition and the sacrament of pennance, in the very same manner; and there only remayneth some temporall payne, which is reserued for vs to vndergoe, either in this world or in the next. And sixtly, we stedfastly hold, that our satisfactions with which we satisfy for this temporall payne in this life, proceed and haue their force and efficacy, from the satisfaction of Christ, and the grace which is giuen vs by his meanes, by which they are made a condigne recompence for this temporall payne, which was reserued. And this no doubt redoundeth greatly to the honour of Christ, his satisfaction, and grace, but conteyneth

Our satisfactions are not opposed to the satisfaction of Christ.

neth no opposition at all vnto them; which now I am not to declare, or confirme any further, since M. *Downam* bringeth no proofes for me to answer, which is all that I am to performe at this present. But the Reader if he please, may haue recourse to *Bellarmines* bookes *de penitentia*, where he shall fynd as much as he can desyre, for this poynt.

Thirdly M. *Downam* obiecteth, that to Christs priesthood is opposed our *adioyning vnto him other intercessours, and mediatours, by whose not only intercession we hope to be heard, but also merits hope to be saued*, and of this he bringeth diuers examples, as when we say of *S. Gregory*: *hic nos saluet à peccatis*: *let him saue vs from sinnes*: and of *S. Thomas of Canterb.* whome he is not ashamed to call a rebell, speaking to our Sauiour, we desyre him to make vs ascend to Heauen, by the bloud of *S. Thomas*. And likewise of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*; *Grant that by the merits of them both, we may obtaine eternall glory*: To our B. Lady; *ô vnica spes miserorum, libera nos ab omni malo*; and we call her; *Desperatorum spem vnicam, peccatorum saluatricem*: Againe; *O thou the mediatrix betwixt God and man, the saluation and hope of them that hope in thee*. And some where: *O Regina poli; mater gratissima proli, spernere me noli, me commendo tibi soli*. And againe; *Seeing ther is no other hope, besydes thee ô virgin mother, and daughter of thy Father, to whome I pray thee reconcile me*. And, *O felix puerpera, nostra piani scelera, iure matris impera Redemptori*: *O happy mother, which doest purge away our sinnes, by thy motherly authority, commaund our Redeemer*.

Ex breuiar. Rom.

Ex compassionib. Mariæ. Innocent. in orat. de 300. dier. indulgent.

In orat. de 5. vulneribus.

In Missa Liparhiensi.

Out of which places M. *Downam* concludeth, that sometymes we do *ioyne vnto our Sauiour Christ other mediatours not only of intercession, but also of redemption (which indeed (sayth he) is presupposed in the former:) sometimes also we exclude our Sauiour Christ, when as we say, that Mary purgeth away the sinnes of all the faythfull, and that shee and no other is the only hope of them that are in misery and despayre*: After this he proceedeth to obiect the psalter, wherin we *turne that which is spoken in the psalmes either of God or Christ, to the Virgin Mary*, and that *some of vs say, that whereas the Kingdome of Christ consisteth in two thinges, iustice and mercy; Christ reserueth iustice vnto himselfe, and mercy he hath giuen vp to his mother; And therfore one saith; A foro iustitiæ Dei appellandum est,*

Innocent. in orat. in laudem Virginis.

est ad forum misericordiæ matris eius; *From the court of Gods iustice, we must appeale to the court of his Mothers mercy.* Add to these, that which he obiected before, and I referred to this place; *that in Marials Heauen we set aboue our Sauiour, his Mother, whom we call the Queene of Heauen* (which he repeateth here also, and addeth, that we call her also *our Lady*, and saith, that we do both *idolatrously*) *desiring her to commaund him, and shew her selfe to be a mother* (*as though*, saith he, *Christ were as they payne him a baby vnder his Mothers gouernment*) *for so they say*, *Iube Natum*, *& iure matris impera*, and againe, *Monstra te esse Matrem &c.* *Bernardin.*

These then are M. *Downams* obiections concerning this matter, which I haue recited thus at large, that both he & the Reader may see, that I meane to deale sincerely with them, and I hope satisfy them also, if they be reasonable men. But first I humbly implore our B. Ladyes powerfull assistance, against M. *Downam*, and all her other enemyes, which consequently must of force be also the enemyes of her glorious sonne, our B. Sauiour *Iesus* Christ; wherfore, *dignare me laudare te*, *Virgo sacrata*, *da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos*, that so both I, and all good Catholikes with me, may haue iust cause to reioyce for the destruction of this heresy by thy meanes, saying with one accord, *Gaude Maria Virgo*, *cunctas hæreses sola interemisti in vniuerso mundo*

Now then I come to M. *Downams* obiections; and I will reduce my answer to two heades; In the first wherof I will briefly shew, that all the titles, and preheminences, which we giue to our B. *Lady*, or the other Saynts, are warranted by the examples we fynd in the scripture it selfe; In the 2. I will explicate and declare the true meaning and sense, in which we vse them, and conuince, that it conteyneth no opposition at all to Christs priesthood, nor any other absurdity. And to begin with that of the Saynts merites, it is euident that God bestoweth many benefites vpon the liuing, in respect of the loue which he beareth to his seruaunts departed; as wee see *Gen.* 26. where the promises made before to *Abraham*, are renewed to his sonne *Isaac*, *propter seruum meum Abraham*, for my seruant Abrahams sake: which is more plainly explicated in the same place: God bestoweth many benefites vpon the liuing, out of his loue to the Saynts departed. *Gen.* 26.

eoquòd obedierit Abraham voci meæ, & custodierit præcepta, & mandata mea, & cæremonias legesq; seruauerit; because Abraham obayed my voice, & kept my precepts & my cõmaundements, & obserued my cerimonies & lawes; can any thing be more manifest & playne then this? And for this cause Moyses doubted not to vse the authority of Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, to appease Gods wrath against their posterity which liued in his time;

Exod. 32. Exod. 32. Recordare Abraham, Isaac, & Israel seruorum tuorum, quibus iurasti per temetipsum &c. Remember Abraham, Isaac,

3. Reg. 11. & 15. and Israel thy seruants, to whome thou hast sworne by thy selfe &c. The like we read in diuers places of Dauid, as 3. Reg. 11. where it is often repeated, that the Kingdome of Israel was not deuided in Salomons dayes, and that his sonne and posterity had some part of it left vnto them, for King Dauids sake; & cap. 15. Abiam is sayd to haue his sonne raigne after him, propter Dauid, for Dauid; eo quòd fecisset Dauid rectum in oculis Domini, & non declinasset ab omnibus, qua præceperat ei, cunctis diebus vitæ suæ; because Dauid had done that, which was right in Gods sight, & had not declyned from all those things, which he had cõmãded him, all the dayes of his life.

4. Reg. 8. 19. 20. Esa: 37. The like may be seene Esay 37. 4. Reg. 8. 19. & 20. in all which places the Kingdom of Iuda, and the Citty of Ierusalem are sayd to be protected and deliuered for Dauids sake: which S. Chrysostome considereth, and pondereth with great admiration in diuers places: hom. 22. in psal. 50. hauing rehearsed the history, he concludeth thus: Dauid mortuus est, & merita eius vigent. O rem admirandam! ô ineffabilis clementia dei, homo mortuus viuo patrocinatur! ô iustorum & post consummationem inexpugnabilis pugna virorum! Dauid is dead, and his merites liue. O wonderfull thing! o inexplicable mercy of God! a dead man protecteth a liuing! o inexpugnable battayle of iust men euen after their consummation! The like he repeateth hom. 27. in Mat: hom. 42. in Genes. and serm. de virtute & vitijs; where he also exemplifyeth in many instruments, which the Saints haue vsed in their working of miracles, the last of which is, Sanctorum Martyrum cinis, the ashes of holy Martyrs, which must needes be vnderstood of the Saynts departed.

Now for the word (*sauing*) it is not only attributed

to God and our Sauiour, but also to others in the Scripture it selfe; and to omit that our vertues are often sayd to saue vs, and we are also sayd to saue our selues, some are also sayd to saue others, as *Ioseph* was by *Pharao* called the Sauiour of the world, *Gen.* 41. and *Othoniel* is called the Sauiour of the Iewes *Iud.* 3. and the like is repeated 4. *Reg.* 13. for which cause 2. *Esdr.* 9. the Leuites in their prayers acknowledge many Sauiours giuen by God to his people. Neither will it be a sufficient answer to these places to say, that these were called so only in respect of temporall benefites; for now we only endeauour to shew, that this name may be applyed to others, then to God and our Sauiour Iesus Christ, though in a different sense. And besides we read *Osee* 13. that God affirmeth of himselfe; *Saluator non est praeter me*, ther is no Sauiour besydes me; where he excludeth all other Sauiours besides himselfe euen in temporall matters, for of these he there speaketh, and the Protestants cannot reconcile these places of Scripture, but by distinguishing of Sauiours in temporall respects, as we doe in spirituall.

The word (*saue*) may be applyed to others besydes God. *Gen.* 41. *Iud.* 3. *Reg.* 13. 2. *Esdr.* 9. *Osee.* 13.

But let vs go forward, and shew the like speaches in spirituall affayres. Doth not *S. Paul Rom.* 11. affirme, that his desyre was to prouoke the Iewes to emulatiō, *that he might saue some of them*? yea doth he not further auouch 1. *Corin* 9. *that to all men he became all things, that he might saue all*? And is not *S. Iames* his speach as generall; *He which maketh a sinner to be conuerted from the errour of his way, shall saue his soule from death*? And our Sauiour agreeth plainly with this, though in other wordes, saying, that if our brother listen to, and take in good part the fraternall correption, which we gaue him, we shall *gayne him*, *viz.* to God, and consequently to saue his soule. And finally *S. Iude* exhorteth vs to saue men, *pulling them out of the fire*. What reason then hath *M. Downam* or any other to rage so against vs, for vsing the like wordes to our B. Lady, and other Saynts, who concur no lesse to the saluation of soules now by their prayers, then they did before, or any other can doe by their other endeauours? but this perteyneth to the sense, in which we vse these speaches, of which I shall speak more particu-

Rom. 11. 1 *Cor.* 9. *Iacob.* 5. *Mat.* 18. 1. *Iud.*

derly afterward.

The word (*hope*) may be referred to others besides God.

In like manner the word (*hope*) may in a true sense be referred to others then to God alone. In this sort is it written 2 *Paral.* 22. that there *was no hope left, that any of the stock of Ochozias* should reigne; not that this might not be hoped for at Gods hands, since thereafterward it proued otherwise, but because probably it seemed that there was no humane meanes left, by which it could be so. And *Tob.* 4. it is truly sayd, *that almes shalbe a great confidence before God*, for all that vse it. Thus also is a tree sayd to *haue hope*, *Iob.* 14. 7 *long as the roote remaineth*, because though it be cut downe, yet it doth grow agayne; but if it be plucked vp by the roote, it hath lost that hope, as the same *Iob* signifyeth *cap.* 19. and compareth his owne estate to a tree in this case, saying, that his *hope was taken away*, which cannot be vnderstood of his hope in God, but only in other secondary causes. In like manner, when *S. Paul* sayth 1. *Corin.* 13. that *charity suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, beareth all things*, it is manifest that this hope, as well as the rest is in the party, which is beloued, of whome we hope all good, as also we beleiue, what he telleth vs, and we suffer and beare his contradictions and imperfections. *S. Peter* also wisheth vs to trust not only in Christ, but also in *that grace, which is offered vs in the reuelation of Iesus Christ*, yea he willeth vs to *trust perfectly* in it, by which he both encourageth vs to this trust, and also signifyeth, that it is not only good and lawfull, but also perfect. Finally *S. Paul* calleth the *Thessalonians his hope, ioy, crowne, and glory*, 1. Thess. 2. and in the end of his epistle to *Philemon* expressely affirmeth, that *he hoped in the prayers of others*. So that we see by these examples, that if our B. Lady and the other Saynts, be any meanes of our good and saluation, they may be rightly called our hope, and we may truly say, that we hope to be holpen and saued by their intercession. Of the word (mediatour, and mediation) I haue already twice treated, and therfore it were needles to make any repetition here.

2. *Paral.* 22. *Tob.* 4. *Iob.* 14. & 19. 1. *Corin.* 13. 1. *Pet.* 1. 1. *Thes.* 2. ad *Philem.* ss. 7. & 9.

The next obiection which M. *Downam* seemeth to stand much vpon, is for that sometime our B. Lady is

called

called our *only hope* &c. by which we seeme to exclude our Sauiour himselfe: wherfore first let vs see, if there be not the like vse of the word (*only* or *alone*) in scripture, and afterward I will explicate, in what sense this is applyed to our B. Lady. First then, when we read *Exod.* 22. that God commanded the *Iewes* to restore their neighbours garment which they tooke for a pledge, before sunne-setting, and giueth this reason, because *it is the only, wherewith he is couered* &c. are we bound to think, that none of these poore *Iewes* had any more then one coate, and that they went naked all day? Or is not the meaning rather, that commonly they which were driuen to those shiftes, needed that garment also, which was layed to pledge at least in the night to keepe them warme: for which cause it is added *in hac dormiet*; he hath no other to sleepe in, because he had not sufficient without that. The word (*only* or *alone*) doth not allway exclude all other *Exod.* 22.

Likewise when *Deut.* 12. and 15. about the eating of flesh, it was twice repeated, that the Iewes should *only obserue, not to eat blood*; will M. *Downam* inferre, that they could commit no other sinne in that action, so long as they absteyned from blood? In like manner, when *Iosue* decreed, that *only Raab* should liue, of all the inhabitants of *Hiericho*, might he not very well haue vnderstood that, which he presently expressed, *with all that are in the house with her*; for if that (*sola*) excludeth all others, then *Iosue* did contradict himselfe, when he added that other clause; and if it doth not exclude all others, then it may very well be vsed, and yet others be partakers of the same, which is affirmed of some one, by those wordes; especially when there is some particuler reason to expresse that party more then others, as there was in this case of *Raab*, and there is no lesse in ours of our B. Lady. When *Saul* is sayd to haue sought *Dauid* vpon most steepy rockes, *where only wild goates* could passe through 1. *Reg.* 24. doth this exclude *Dauid* or *Saul* himselfe from being in, and passing through those rockes? When *Naaman Syrus* desyred *Eliseus* to pray for him about his going to the Temple with his King 4. *Reg.* 5. saying: *Hoc solum est de quo deprecetur Dominum*; shall we thinke that he would not, that *Eliseus* should pray for him in any thing else

Deut. 12. & 15.

Iosue 6.

1. Reg. 24.

4. Reg. 5.

els? I would also desyre *M. Downam* to declare in what sense it is sayd, *Iob.* 15. that the *earth is giuen to wise men alone*; which I think he will hardly doe if he standeth so strictly vpō this word as he doth in this place. The like demaund I would make concerning that place of *prouerb.* 5. where the counsaile of *Salomon* seemeth wholy contradictory to it selfe, if this word (*alone*) excludeth all others, for thus he writeth; *Deriuentur fontes tui foras, & in plateis aquas tuas diuide*; & presently he addeth: *Habeta eas solus, nec sint alieni participes tui.* How can one haue that alone, which he deuideth in the streets? And why should not strāgers be partakers of that, which is let out amongst them? And againe *Eccles.* 7. the same *Salomon* sayth, that he had *only* found this, *that God made man right*, *and that he had intangled himselfe with infinite questions*; did all *Salomons* wisedom consist only in this, so that all other knowledge was excluded?

Iob. 15.

Prouerb. 5.

Eccles. 7.

But let vs drawe to an end, alledging one or two examples out of the new testament? what can be more euident, then that speach of our Sauiour *Iohn.* 16. to his Disciples, telling them that they would *leaue him alone*, where he presently addeth: *and I am not alone, because the Father is with me*; so that this word, doth not exclude God, no nor all men neither, for though our Sauiours disciples forsooke him, yet he wanted not other company, but rather had too much. And on the other side *Luke* 9. he is sayd to be alone, when his Disciples were with him; for thus writeth the Euangelist: *when he was alone praying, his Disciples also were with him.* The like may be seene *Act.* 11. where those, that were dispersed by the tribulation made vnder S. *Stephen*, are said to haue spoken the word *to none, but to the Iewes only*; and yet presently certayne of them are sayd to haue spoken *to the Greekes, preaching our Lord Iesus.* These examples then may suffice to shew, that we are not to take these wordes (*only*, or *alone*) so strictly as *M. Downam* doth; wherfore now let vs goe forward. There followeth the word (*purging of sinnes*) which *M. Downam* taketh great exceptions against, in that it is applyed to our B. Lady, as though it were not to be applyed to any other then to Christ himselfe: But for this might very well suffice that, which I haue sayd of the word

Iohn. 16.

Luc. 9.

Act. 11.

These wordes (*purging of sinnes*) may be applied to others besides Christ.

(*sauing*,

(*saying*, and *hope*) which beare as great shew of difficulty, as this other of (purging) doth.

But yet to satisfye *M. Downam*, if it be possible, or at least any other indifferent and vnpassionate Reader; I will produce some few examples of this also. And omitting the common vse therof in the bookes of *Moyses*, which treat of the sacrifices of the old law, and affirme them to haue *purged sinnes*; can *M. Downam* deny that *Phynees* is sayd to haue expiated (which is the word that he alledgeth as applyed to our B. Lady) or *purged the sinne of the children of Israel*, by killing two impudent wretches? Doth not God himselfe giue this testimony: *Zelatus est pro Deo suo, & expiauit scelus filiorum Israel*? And what can be more playne then that of *Tob.* 12. affirming that almes deliuereth from death, *& ipsa est quæ purgat peccata*, and that it *purgeth sinnes, and maketh* (vs) *to find mercy and life euerlasting*? The like we haue also *Prouerb.* 15. or 16. for in the latter place it is read in all bookes; and in some in the former also thus: *by mercy and fayth sinnes are purged*. In the latter thus: *with mercy and truth iniquity is redeemed*. And least *M. Downam* should reiect the former place, and except against the latter, as not hauing the word *purging*, but *redeeming*, though this were a very poore shift; yet *M. Downams* good friends *Tremelius* and *Iunius* will cleare the matter, who read the later place thus: *Benignitate & veritate expiatur iniquitas*; thinking perhaps that expiation or purging, was not fully so much as redemption; of which notwithstanding I might also produce many examples, but these shall suffice for this time.

Leuit. 3. 6. *&c.*

Num. 25.

Tob. 12.

Prouerb. 15. 16.

That manner of speach to our B. Lady, desyring her *to commaund* her sonne, is somewhat more strange, and seldome vsed; because none can doubt, but that our Sauiour is the head of our Lady, as well as of the other Saynts; and this word of cõmaunding can hardly be vsed, but by a Superiour to an inferiour; yet this also may in some sort be excused by some examples which we read in the scripture; as *Gen.* 47. wheras *Iacob* spake so humbly to his sonne *Ioseph*, as being the chiefe gouernour of the land, vnder the Kinges, saying: *Si inueni gratiam in conspectu tuo*, If I haue found fauour in thy sight, which was a very hum-

The word (cõmãding) may somtymes be vsed by an inferiour to a superiour. *Gen.* 47.

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ble petition, and vsed commonly to those, which were accounted Superiours, or at least greatly respected, as might easily be proued by many examples; notwithstanding *Ioseph* tooke it as a commaundement, and answered accordingly: *ego faciam quæ iussisti*, I will doe that which you haue commaunded. Another example of this may be in yong *Tobias*, who tooke the Angell *Raphaels* words, for a commaundment, though at that time he knew not what he was, but had agreed with him, as with his seruant and guide in that iourney; though yong *Tobias* out of the loue he had conceiued towards him, called him his brother, and vsed him with all respect, in so much (as I sayd) that he tooke his order for the keeping of certayn parcells of the fish for a commaundement, and so he expressed it, *Tob.* 6. *Tob. 6.*

To this we may adde that fact of *Iudith* after her victory of *Holofernes*, when she commaunded the whole Citty from the greatest to the least, to obserue silence, till she had ended her speach, *Iudith.* 13. By which examples it appeareth, that those manner of speaches are not so heynous offences as M. *Downam* would make them seeme: But yet I confesse, that they are very strange in English mens eares, and so they seeme also to be to *Germans* or *Dutch-men*, for which cause *Canisius* would in no sort take vpon him to defend these speaches, but rather censureth them in these words; *obscura quædam & ignota cantica, quæ fortassis in vno aut altero loco (quàm rectè ac prudenter non disputo) irrepserunt:* certayne obscure and vnknowne songes, which peraduenture were crept in (how rightly or wisely I dispute not) in some one or two places. And he hath reason for all but one, of which he speaketh not, and which is without exception, as shall afterwards appeare. But though this be so in these languages, yet in others these phrases are very vsuall, as is knowne to trauelers; so that in them it would not be any nouelty, that a King, or any other absolute Prince should speak to his mother, though she were of much meaner degree in this sort; as that he would be commaunded by her, or that he would doe that which she commaundeth. And hence in deed doe I think, that *Iudith.* 13. *Lib. 5. de Maria Deipa. Virgine c. 11.*

these

these phrases arose. It were not greatly necessary to adde any thing to that, which hath byn sayd in answere of the next obiection, concerning the *turning of the wordes of the Psalter, which are spoken either of God or Christ or the Virgin Mary.* For first it is false that *S. Bonauenture* doth turne the words of the psalter in that manner.

Secondly supposing it were so: if there be any fault in this, it must either be in the explication it selfe, so that nothing which is spoken of one, may in any sort be applyed to another. But this were such a ridiculous absurdity, as no doubt M. *Downam* would be ashamed to auouch it. Wherfor all the fault that can be found in this application, must be in that he did not rightly apply it, but attributed such wordes to our B. Lady, as can in no true sense, be vnderstood of her. This M. *Downam* should haue proued by some perticular instances, but he bringeth none; the cause wherof, I leaue to the Readers coniecture; perhaps it might be, for that he found none more hard in his conceipt, then these; which he hath obiected. And if this be the true cause, or vntill some other did appeare, it were sufficient to answer that which he obiecteth. But yet for the greater satisfaction of the Reader, I will adde some few more; And to omit those titles of Father, maister, and pastour, which notwithstanding seeme to be particulerly appropriated to God and Christ, and expressely prohibited to all others, and yet M. *Downam* will not deny the common vse of them to be lawfull; and if he or any other should, the examples of Scripture would conuince the contrary. *S. Paul* affirmed likewise, that there can be no other foundation layd, besides our Sauiour; and yet *S. Iohn* calleth the 12. Apostles 12. foundations of *Hierusalem*, by which he meaneth the Church. In like manner Christ is a rock and so are *S. Peter* and *Abraham* also. Christ is the light of the world, and the Apostles are likewise called so by himselfe. None is sayd to be good but only God, and yet we must not deny, but that others may be called good also. we are commaunded to serue God alone, and yet we may also serue men. God is called only *wise*, bnt yet so that others may be called *wise* notwithstanding. He is in like

Mat. 23. *Iac.* 3. *Iohn.* 10. & 13. 1. *Pet.* 2. *Luc.* 16. *Rom.* 4. *Act.* 7. 13. *Iac.* 2. *Ephes.* 4. 2. *Tim.* 1. *Heb.* 5. 1. *Pet.* 5. 1. *Cor.* 3. *Apoc.* 22. 1. *Cor.* 10. *Matth* 16. *Esa.* 51. *Ioan.* 1. 8. 9. *Matth.* 5. *Matth.* 19. *Marc.* 10. *Luc.* 18. *Matth.* 12. *Luc.* 6. *Deut.* 6. 10. *&c.* *Rom.* 16. 1 *Tim.* 6. *Iud.* c. 4. *Apoc.* 15. & 6.

manner sayd to be only *powerfull*, and *immortall*, *dominator* or *Lord*, *pious* or *holy* &c. and yet all this may be very well applied to others.

It were endlesse labour to exemplify in all, that might be brought to this purpose. Doth not *S: Paul* in a manner make himselfe omnipotent when he sayth, that he can doe all things in him, who strengthneth him; and would it not seeme a strange speach to *M. Downam*, that a man should say, that he sanctifyeth euen the very ghospell of God: And yet *S. Paul* sayth so of himselfe. Finally to returne to *M. Downams* obiections, he thinketh it a great matter, that we call the B. Virgin the *Queene of heauen, and our Lady*; and yet he cannot be so foolish but that he must needes know, that this name of King and Lord is not so reserued to God, but that it may be imparted to others; though to none so rightly as to Gods Saynts, especially being in glory; who for this cause euen in this life are called *regnum sacerdotale Exod. 15. as S. Peter* not without mystery turneth it *Regale sacerdotium*, a priestly Kingdome or a kingly priestood: and is any thing more ordinary, then to call both the Church militant & triumphāt; *Regnum calorum*, the Kingdome of Heauen, and consequently must not they, which possesse this Kingdome, needes be Kinges and Queenes of heauen? especially since they come to it by inheritaunce, as is manifest in many places, and plainely expressed by *S. Iames c. 5.* where he calleth the poore of this world; *Heredes regni, quod promisit Deus diligentibus se*; Heyres of the Kingdome, which God hath promised to those which loue him.

Philip. 4.
Rom. 15.
The name of King or Lord applyed to others besides God and our Sauiour.
Exod. 15.
1. Pet, 2.
Iac. 5.

And this might be confirmed by the crowne of Glory, which is promised to the Saints: for who seeth not, that this signifieth their kingly dignity? And this kingdome is acknowledged by the Saynts themselues *Apoc. 1.* and *5.* Our Sauiour was foretold by the Prophet *Esay*, that he should rise to rule the Nations, as *S. Paul* alledgeth him, *Rom. 15.* and yet the same Apostle telleth Bishops, that it is their office, *regere Ecclesiam Dei*: to rule or gouerne Gods Church; that is the Nations which beleeue in him: likewise our Sauiour is sayd to rule the Nations in an yron rod *Psal. 2.*

2. Tim. 4.
Iac. 1.
1. Pet. 5.
Apoc. 23. 4. &c.
Apoc. 1. 5.
Rom. 15.
Act. 20.
Psal. 2.
Apoc. 19.

Apoc.

Apoc. 19. which seemeth very hard to be applyed to his Saints, were it not, that our Sauiour himselfe had so expresly applyed it *Apoc.* 2. in these wordes: *He that shall ouercome and keepe my workes vnto the end, I will giue him power ouer the Nations, and he shall rule them with a rodde of yron, and as the vessell of a potter shall they be broken, as I also haue receiued of my Father.* Can any thing be more playne then this? or can the kingly authority of the Saints be more significantly expressed? what will M. *Downam* say now? Will he perhaps obiect, that yet we haue not produced any example, where our B. Lady is called the Queene of Heauen? To this question if any such should be made I cannot see what better answere can be returned, then that of *Cochlæus* to *Luther*: *Dicat nobis Lutherus, vbi Christus Regina cæli dicetur? Let Luther tell vs where Christ is called the Queene of Heauen*: for since they insist so much vpon the iniury which is done to Christ, by attributing that to his mother, which is only due to him, it is good reason, that they should proue, that this title, which we attribute to our Lady, is giuen to Christ.

Apoc. 2.

Cochlæus in confut. art. 91. apud Canis. l. 5 de Maria Deipara Virgine. c. 13.

But yet to satisfy M. *Downam* somewhat farther, we think that our B. Lady may very well be said to be that Queene, which the Prophet *Dauid* did see standing on the right hand of our heauenly *Salomon* *Psal.* 44. likewise we nothing doubt but that she is either the chiefest of those 60. Queenes, which *Salomon* mentioneth *Cant.* 6. or rather a greater Queene then all they were; perhaps M. *Downam* will tell vs of another Queene of Heauen, which the Prophet *Ieremy* speaketh of; but if he doth, the answere is easy, that she was a false Queene vsurping Gods honour, but now we speake of the true Queene exalted and crowned by God himselfe, remayning allway in most true and excellent humility, and subiection toward him: wherfore we are not to take away the title due to this Princesse, because others haue falsly and iniuriously vsurped the like; for by that rule we should neither acknowledge God himselfe, nor any other lawfull dignity or power constituted and ordayned by him. Neither needeth M. *Downam* to feare, least any fall to *Idolatry* by this

Psal. 44.

Cant. 6.

meanes, as he fooliſhly chargeth vs to haue done, for all Catholikes know very well, that there is but one God, and one Chriſt; though through his merites and infinite goodnes, others are exalted to theſe high and admirable preferments; which indeed is ſo far from diminiſhing the honour or dignity due to him, that he is not more admirable or glorious in any other worke: How would M. *Downam* take on, if he had found that any Catholike, had called our Lady a Goddeſſe, or the Saynts Chriſts; and yet we know that ſome beſides our Sauiour are called (1.) Chriſts and (2.) Gods alſo; and why may not theſe names be imparted, as well as that of being the ſonne of God, which is common to all Godsſeruants, who are alſo truly ſayd to be the heyres of God, and the coheyres of Chriſt; yea partakers of the diuine nature?

The name of God an Chriſt &c. imparted to others. *Pſal.* 67. & 86. (1) *Reg.* 12. 16. 24. 26. 2. *Reg.* 2 19. 22. 2 *Par.* 16. *pſ.* 17. 104. *Eſa.* 2. *Machab.* (2) *Exod.* 7. 22. 22. *pſal.* 81. *Ioan.* 10. 2. *Cor.* 8. *Rom.* 8. 2. *Pet.* 2.

By all which it is moſt euident, that M. *Downam* is an abſurd Cauiller if he only carpeth at names and wordes, which may haue diuers ſignifications, and conſequently be diuerſly applyed, or vſed, and yet all in moſt true and lawfull ſenſes. Wherfore now it is tyme, that we begin to explicate the ſenſe, in which Catholikes doe vſe theſe ſpeaches: where alſo we ſhall examine the reſt that M. *Downam* obiecteth; firſt then, we deny, that the Saints do helpe and aſſiſt vs with their merites, in ſuch ſort as our B. Sauiour doth with his, who (as the Deuines ſpeake) purchaſed vs all things neceſſary to our ſaluation, *ex rigore iuſtitiæ*, that is with a moſt rigorous price; nay yet further we all agree, that neither our B. Lady, or any Saint can merite to any other beſides theſelues eyther grace or glory *ex condigno*, that is in ſuch manner, that eyther their works deſerue any ſuch reward with condignity, or that God is abſolutly obliged by his promiſe to graunt it them. In this ſort I ſay, we only admit, that thoſe which are iuſtifyed, and in Gods grace may merite encreaſe of grace, and glory for themſelues alone, but not for any other; That therefor, which we attribute to the Saints, is only, that they may merite *de congruo*, or by way of impetration (for all is one) as well by their good workes as by their prayers, the ſupply of all our ſpirituall wants: And this in two

How the Saints may merit for others.

manners

maners, the one by those good workes, which they did, while they liued in this world; by which God is still moued to graunt benefits to others for their sakes, as is most manifest in the examples which I alledged out of the Scriptures, of the holy Patriarches, and King *Dauid*.

The other manner is, by those good actions which the Saints do exercise now in Heauen, for as they may pray for vs, so also they may offer their other good actions to the same end, which no doubt may also obtayne fauour at Gods hands. And in this sort only doe we hope to *be saued by the merits of Saints*, or *to ascend to heauen or obtayne eternall glory*, *or be deliuered from all euill*, *or reconciled to God*, or *to haue our sinnes expiated or purged away*; which is farre different from that, which we acknowledge in our B. Sauiour, since that he did not only obtayne *de congruo*, or by way of impetration, the forgeuenes of our sinnes, and all grace and glory, but also more then *de condigno*, that is *ex rigore iustitiæ*; for his merites are infinite, and not only sufficient for the redemption of this world, but of infinite others, if there had byn so many; and withall so effectuall, that he purchased the sanctity of all Saints, and gaue them this dignity of his grace, with which they might merite for themselues & others in the manner already explicated; which is so far from being any derogation, or opposition to Christs sacrifice, or satisfaction, that the force and efficacy therof appeareth in nothing more.

In the same manner doe we hope in Saints, as in secondary causes, and meanes of our saluation, which concur with vs, and assist vs to the obtayning therof, in such sort as hath byn declared. By which we derogate no more from Christ and God, then the husbandman, who hopeth to receiue the fruites of his labours, bestowed in a fruitfull ground; though withall he acknowledgeth, that neither his industry, nor the fertility of the soile can auayle him, if God should withdraw his helping hand; And yet I think M. *Downam* will graunt, that it were a mere folly and madnesse in him, to expect a plentifull harueſt, vnlesse he would vse the meanes, which God hath giuen him; for this vse, or the subordinate hope which is put in

How we may hope in Saints.

it, or in the fertillity of the ground, argue not, that the husbandman doth not acknowledge, that he receiueth both from God, but rather the contrary; And the very same is to be seene in our case; for we know very well, that the Saints had all their grace and perfection, by which they may helpe vs, from Christ our Sauiour, who gaue it them to this end, that they might helpe themselues and others therwith. And this may suffice for answere to M. *Downams* obiections against the Saints in generall.

But his chiefest difficulty is, concerning our B. Lady in perticular, whome in his opinion we doe in such sort make *our only hope*, affirming that there is *no other hope besides her*, and *commending our selues to her alone*, that we exclude all others, euen our Sauiour himselfe. Where firſt, I would desire both M. *Downam*, and the Reader also to consider, that if these wordes be vrged in so rigorous a sense, as M. *Downam* taketh them in, they exclude all recourse to Saints, as well as to our Sauiour, which I suppose M. *Downam* will not admit; and therfore he must needes graūt, that the word *only* or *alone*, hath not altogeather the force of excluding all other whatsoeuer; and if any be included, I would think it should be our B. Sauiour in the first place; and so no doubt it is indeed, whatsoeuer M. *Downam* pretendeth to the contrary. Wherfore to omit others, in three manners may our B. Lady be called our *only hope* &c. without any iniury at all to our B. Sauiour.

How our B Lady may be called our only hope &c.

The first and chiefest, & in my opinion principaly, if not only intended by all Catholikes, is; in the very same manner that (*Iosue 6.*) *Raab* was said to be saued or deliuered alone; because in her was vnderstood, all her owne and her fathers family, as appeareth plainly in the same place. And in like manner in our B. Lady is included her only sonne, and his whole family; in which sense there can be no question but that our B. Lady is our only hope &c. And thus is that place of *Genes.* 3. to be expounded, if with the Catholike Church and very many ancient Fathers we read: *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*. The second true sense may be, that in respect of Saints, our B. Lady is *our only hope* &c.

See Bellar. l. 2. de Verbo Dei c. 12.

hope &c, becauſe none but ſhe concurreth to the reliefe and comfort of all; for which cauſe ſhe is alſo moſt fitly by Catholikes compared to the neck in this myſticall body of the Church, not only becauſe ſhe is next and moſt nearly vnited to our B. Sauiour, who is the head; but alſo for that by her, as by the neck, the whole body receiueth the ſuſtenance and influences, which come vnto them from their head.

Finally, we do alſo acknowledge a perticular reſpect and duety to our B. Lady, in that ſhe is the only creature, that was promoted to that high dignity of being the Mother of God, and conſequently may very well be accounted our ſingular, and only hope &c. for this cauſe alſo. And if M. *Downam* reflecteth vpon the places of Scripture, which I alleadged before to this purpoſe, he ſhall find the word (only or alone) taken much more largely, then it is in any of theſe ſenſes applyed to our B. Lady. I haue already ſufficiently explycated in what manner of ſpeach, our B. Lady may be deſyred by vs *to commaund her ſonne*; for the meaning is not that ſhe ſhould vſe any authority or commaund ouer him, but only repreſent our prayers vnto him, and requeſt him to accept them; which humble petition comming from his Mother, we think will be of more force with him then any requeſt, that can be made to any temporall Prince by his Mother, which notwithſtanding is by them both named, and acknowledged to be a commaundment, rather then a bare demaund. And all this is ſufficiently explicated in that hymne of the Church, which M. *Downam* obiecteth. For preſently after thoſe wordes: *Monſtra te eſſe Matrem*, ſhew they ſelfe to be a Mother, it followeth *ſumat per te preces, qui pro nobis natus, tulit eſſe tuus*: Let him take our prayers by thee who vouchſafed for vs to be thy ſonne. So that we deſire her not to ſhew her ſelfe to be a Mother, in any other manner, then by repreſenting and offering vp our prayers and petitions to her moſt dearly beloued ſonne; which as is manifeſt contayneth no abſurdity at all: And yet we might add, that in thoſe wordes we deſire not our B. Lady to ſhew her ſelfe to be a Mother, in reſpect of our B. Sauiour, but of

How our B. Lady may be deſyred to commaũd her ſonne.

vs our selues, by being mercyfull vnto vs, and offering vp our prayers as hath byn explicated. And this sense doth *Canisius* seeme to insinuate in the place before alledged, and in my opinion it is the true and proper meaning of those wordes, for which cause we find not, that the Church alloweth of any of those other speaches, which must needes be taken otherwise, though as we haue seene they admit a lawfull and true interpretation also.

S. Bonauentures Psalter.

Out of *S. Bonauentures* psalter, *M. Downam* obiecteth nothing in perticular for vs to explicate, and therfore I omit it, for it were ouer tedious to runne ouer the whole, and to shew, that whatsoeuer is in it applyed to our B. Lady, conteyneth no inconuenience at all, if it be rightly vnderstood; without which the psalter of *Dauid* himselfe can hardly be defended from all absurdity. Wherfore let vs come to that speach, wherin *some of vs* without name are charged to affirme, that *where as the Kingdome of Christ consisteth in two things; iustice and mercy, Christ reserueth iustice to himselfe, and mercy he hath geuen vp to his Mother, and therfore one sayth: that from the court of Gods iustice, we must appeale to the court of his Mothers mercy*; The answere to which is very easy, for vnderstanding wherof we must note, that all this is spoken of the time of this life, in which we may passe from iustice to mercy, by leauing and forsaking our synnes, which procure Gods indignation and iustice against vs; by which course we doe in effect appeale from Gods iustice to his mercy, as *S. Thomas* explicateth. Now the reason why this court of mercy is called the court of our Lady; is not because it belongeth not to our B. Sauiour also, as *M. Downam* would very fondly giue vs to vnderstand, but for that the other of iustice appertayneth not to our B. Lady, but is reserued to God alone; which proceedeth from his infinite goodnesse and mercy, to giue vs more secondary helpes, & encouragemẽts to take hold of his mercy thẽ of his iustice; yea indeed of himself enclyning wholy to mercy, & not exercising his iustice at all, but wh ẽ he is prouoked therũto by our synnes. And therfore this appoyntig of our B. Lady to assist vs in the obteyning of mercy, is not well expressed by M. *Downam*, when he telleth vs, that

Bernardin. in Marial.

Super. c. vlt. epist. D. Iacob.

Why the Court of Mercy is called the Court of our B. Lady.

we

we affirme, that Christ hath giuen vp mercy to his Mother, as though he had bereaued himselfe therof; wheras he could not chuse but know, that we acknowledge him to be most mercyfull, and to excell in this, more then in iustice, especially in this life; of which we can hardly giue a greater argument, then the graunting of our B. Lady to assist and help vs for the obteyning of his mercy, and preuenting of his iustice; in which respect she being the chiefest meanes to obteyne Gods mercy, this Court may rightly be called hers; as we see in temporall courtes, the chiefe President or Iudge giueth it the name; though no man will therby vnderstand, that the Kings Maiesty is by that meanes excluded. And besydes, that word of (*appellation*) is not to be taken in rigour, but only to signify, that so long as we liue in this world, we may haue recourse to mercy, though we deserue iustice, especially by the intercession of our B. Lady, whome God hath appoynted to that purpose only, and in no sort for the execution of his iustice.

Finally, that obiection of calling this most blessed Virgin, *our Lady, and the Queene of heauen*, is not worth the answering, since that as I haue shewed, all Saynts may rightly be called Lords and Kinges, and she is the greatest and highest of them all, and the mother of the King of all Kings. Wherfore I will conclude this whole explication, only putting M. *Downam* in mynd that when we paynt our B. Lady with a child in her armes; it is not to signify either the manner of being, which our B. Sauiour hath now in heauen, or any subiection to his Mother; but only that when he was in this world, he did truly vouchsafe to become a baby for vs (to vse M. *Downams* owne word) and to be vnder his Mothers gouernment, euen after he was past those yeares; or els that our B. Lady hath byn at least mystically represented in that manner, neither of which as I hope M. *Downam* will take vpon him to deny. And thus I haue fully answered all these obiections. But now I could wish that the reader would make some litle reflection vpon the authors, which M. *Downam* alledgeth; which for the most part he shall fynd to be such,

How the blessed Virgin is our Lady and the Queene of heaue.

Luc. 2.

Apoc. 12.

The Fathers haue vsed as hard speeches as any the Protestats obiect against any priuate Catholike

as haue no great authority among vs, and therfore might very well be graunted to haue committed some excesse, which notwithstanding deserueth not so sharpe a censure as *M. Downam* layeth vpon vs all in generall for their priuate speaches, which will appeare yet more plainly, if we consyder, that the ancient Fathers of Gods Church haue in effect vsed the like, and some perhaps rather more then lesse hard to be explicated: Some of which for the Readers better satisfaction I thinke it not amisse to recyte briefly in this place.

lib. 3. aduersus hæres. cap. 33.

First then *S. Irenæus* writeth thus; *As Eua being inobedient, became the cause of death to her selfe, and all mankind, so also Mary hauing an husband appointed, yet being an obedient Virgin, became the cause of saluation to all mankind: the knotte of Eues disobedience was vntyed by the obedience of Mary, for that which the Virgin Eua tyed by incredulity, the Virgin Mary loosed by fayth.* The like he repeateth in another place, affirming also, that *the Virgin Mary became the Virgin Eues aduocate.* The like speech vseth *Tertullian lib. de carne Christi. Iustinus in colloq. cum Tryphone Iudæo. S. Augustine* often, who also alledgeth and approueth *S. Irenæus* his wordes: See him *lib. 5. hæres. c. 6. serm. 7. in Natali Domini; lib. de Symbolo ad Catechum. serm. 2. de annuntiat. Dominica &c. S. Epiphanius contra Antidicomar. & lib. 3. contra hæres. cap. 21. S. Greg. Nyssen. hom. de nat. Christi,* where he sayth, that Eua *was defended and purged by Mary: S. Chrysost. hom. de interdict. arboris ab Adam.* where he affirmeth, that by *Mary that was restored, which had perished by Eue.* See these and diuers other to the same purpose alledged by *Canisius lib. 4. de Maria Virgine Deipara c. 16. S. Augustine* also was not afrayd to call her, *the only Hope of sinners, by whom we hope for the pardon of our sinnes, and in whome is the expectation of our rewards. Andreas Cretensis in salutatione Angelica,* giueth her many admirable titles, and among the rest he calleth her, *a diuine refuge of reconciliation betwixt God and man.*

Ser. de annunc. dominica

Ad Eustoch in 1. c. Luc.

l. ad Regin. hom. in Nestor.

S. Hierome writeth thus: *Death by Eue, life by Mary &c. S. Ambrose* sayth that she *obteyned so much grace as none had before her. S. Cyril Alexandrin.* nameth her *the mother of life, of beauty, of magnificence, and light: and in another place he sayth that by her he is named blessed in the ghospells, who cometh in the name of our Lord,*

the

the holy Trinity is glorifyed and adored in the whole world, heauen reioyceth, the diuells are bavished, the tempting diuell fell from heauen, the fallen creature is carryed vp againe to heauen, that by her all creatures deceyued with the madnes of Idoles, are brought to the knowledg of truth, the holy baptisme is giuen to beleeuers, the oyle of exultation is consecrated, Churches are founded in the whole world, Nations are brought to penance, the only sonne of God did shine as a light to those which did sit in darknes and in the shadow of death, that by her the Prophets did foretell, the Apostles preached saluation to Nations, the dead are raysed, kinges do reigne in the holy Trinity. Proclus likewise, who liued at the same time writeth briefly thus: She is a handmayd, and a mother, a Virgin and a heauen, she is the only bridge by which God descended to men. S. Fulgentius no lesse learned then eloquent, sayth, that she relieueth all women which fly vnto her for ayde, and so restoreth all kind of women which come vnto her, being a toris new Eue by keeping Virginity, as our Lord Iesus Christ the new Adam recouereth all kind of men. Would not this bein M. Downams iudgement to deuide Kingdoms with Christ? But euery wise man will easily vnderstand, that this Saynt meant nothing lesse, then to exclude Christ from the saluation of women, as neither our B. Lady from relieuing of men, though he appropriated the helpe of women to the one, and the recouery of men to the other; and none but captious heretikes will carpe or take exceptions therat.

Hom. quæ habetur in Concil. Ephes. to. 6. c. 7.

Sermone de laud. Mariæ ex partu Saluatoris.

What should I recite S. Bernards wordes, who hath many large discourses to this effect? I will only briefly note some few of his speaches, as that our B. Lady satisfyeth God for Eue, and that man is not raysed but by her, he calleth her parentum reparatricem, posterorum vinificatricem, the restorer of her parents, the giuer of life to her posterity; likewise, that noble starre arrising of Iacob, whose beame enlighteneth the whole world, whose splendour both shineth in heauen, and pierceth to hell, illustrating also the earth, and warming rather mindes then bodyes, cherisheth vertues, purgeth vices: necessarily exalted aboue this great and spatious sea, shining with merites, illustrating with examples. And a little after hauing exhorted all to implore her ayde, and imitate her example, he concludeth thus: Following her, thou goest not out of the way, praying to her, thou dispayrest not, thinking vpon her thou

Hom. 2. de laud. Virgin. Matris super Euangel. Missus est.

« thou errest not: if she baldeth thee thou fallest not, if she protecteth thee « thou feareſt not, if she be thy guyde thou are not wearied, if she be fauourable to thee, thou commeſt to thy iourneys end.

Ser. 1. in Assumpt. B. Mariæ.

In another place, he calleth her *our Queene and our Lady*, *our Aduocate*, *the Mother of mercy*, and affirmeth, that *she can neither want power nor will to giue guifts to men, because she is the Queene of heauen and mercifull, and the Mother of the only begotten* » *ſonne of God*: for (ſaith this holy and deuout Father) » *nothing* » *can ſo much commend the greatnes of his power and piety, vnleſſe per-* » *haps it be not beleeued, that the ſonne of God doth honour his Mother,* » *or any can doubt that her bowells are wholly transformed into the affect* » *of charity, in which the charity it ſelfe which is of God, reſted corporally* » *for nine moneths*. And againe, *Let him, O bleſſed Virgin, not ſpeake*

Ser. 4. in eadem ſolemnit.

of thy mercy, if any that hath called vpon thee in his neceſſities, remembr that thou wert wanting vnto him: and a little after he affirmeth, *that her mercy obteyned the reparation of the whole world,* « *and the ſaluation of all*; *and that the length of her mercy relieueth all* « *that call vpon it vntill the end of the world*; *the breadth of it filleth the* « *whole world*, *ſo that all the earth may be full of her mercy alſo*: *the* « *height of it ſendeth the reſtauration of the heauenly citty, and the depth*

Ser. 2. in aduent. Domini.

obteyneth redemption for thoſe which doe ſitte in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death. And for this cauſe he calleth *her charity, moſt potent and moſt pious, rich alike in both*. In another place he exhorteth vs *to aſcend to Chriſt by her, and to come into his ſauour by* « *her, and beſeecheth her, that we may haue acceſſe to her ſonne by her,* « *and that he will receiue vs by her, and that our ſinnes may be excuſed* « *and couered by her vertues, calling her the finder of grace, the Mo-* « *ther of life and ſaluation, our Lady, our Mediatrix, and our Aduocate.*

I haue byn long in this Saint, and yet I cannot omit a place or two more, they make ſo much to our purpoſe, for in one he explicateth the whole matter in theſe words:

Ser. de verbis Apoc. Signum magnum apparuit in Cælo.

Chriſt might haue ſuffiſed vs, for now alſo all our ſufficiency is from him, but it was not good for vs, that a man ſhould be alone; *but it was more congruous, that both ſexes ſhould be preſent at our reparation, neither of which was wanting to our corruption. Chriſt Ieſus is plainly a faithfull and powerfull mediatour of God and men, but men do reuerence the diuine Maieſty in him. Mercy alone is not ſung to him. Iudgement is alſo ſung: for although he learned compaſſion by that which he ſuffered, that he might become mercyfull, yet he hath alſo the power to iudge.*

VVe

We haue need of a Mediatour to this Mediatour, neither is any more »
pleasable for vs, then Mary. Eua was cruell, by whome the old ser- »
pent infused pestilent poyson, euen to her very husband: but Mary is »
louefull, who offered the remedy of saluation both to men and women; »
for Eua was the minister of seduction, Mary of propitiation. Eua sug- »
gested preuarication, Mary cast vs in redemption. VVhy should humaine »
fragility be afrayd to goe to Mary? there is nothing austere in her, no- »
thing terrible, she is altogether sweet, offering woll and milke to all: »
seeke diligently the whole course of the Euangelicall history, and if thou »
meetest with any reprehensiue, or hard speach, or with any thought »
neuer so slender a signe of indignation, suspect her hereafter, and be a- »
frayd to come to her. But if thou findest all things, which belong to her »
as indeed they are, to be rather full of piety and grace, full of meeknesse »
and mercy, giue him thankes, who with his most bountifull moderation, »
hath prouided thee such a mediatrix, in whome there can be nothing »
suspected. »

After this he recounteth all her offices, among other » things affirming, that *she alone hath broken in peeces all hereticall* » *prauity.* He calleth her *powerfull, being the fleece plated betwixt* » *the dew and the flore, the woman betwixt the sonne and the moone,* » *that is betwixt Christ and the Church.* And in the end of that ser- » mon, he bringeth in the Moone prostrate at her feet, beseeching » her as her *mediatrix appointed with the sunne of iustice, that in her* » *light she may see light, and may deserue the sunnes grace by her meanes* » *&c.* Finally in the other place, which I cannot omit, he *Ser. de nat.* writeth thus: *Consider more deeply with what affect of deuotion he Mariæ.* *would haue Mary to be honoured by vs, who hath put the plenitude* » *of all goodnes in Mary: so that if there be any hope in vs, any grace, any* » *saluation, we must know, that it floweth back from her, who ascen-* » *ded flowing with pleasures. A garden verily of pleasures, which that* » *sunne Auster did not only blow vpon comming, but did also blow through,* » *that on euery side her sweet odours may flow and runne ouer, viz. the* » *gifts of her graces. Take away this corporall sunne, which enlighteth* » *the world, and where will the day be? Take away Mary this starre of* » *the sea, I meane of this great and spatious sea, what will be left but* » *a mingled darknesse and the shadow of death, and most thick dark-* » *nesse? VVherefore with all the marrow of our hearts, with all the affects* » *of our very entralles, and with all vowes let vs worship the Mary, be-* » *cause so is his will who would haue vs haue all by Mary. This I say is his*

« will, but for vs: for prouiding for vs wretches in all things, and by all « meanes, he comforteth our feartfulnes, he stirreth vp our faith, he « strengtheneth our hope, he driueth away our diffidence, he erecteth our « pusillanimity. I haue neuer afrayd to goe to the Father, being terrified « by only hearing, thou fleddest to the leanes. He gaue thee Iesus a Media- « tour. What may not such a sonne obteyne of such a Father? Doubtlesse « he shall be heard for his reuerence: for the Father loueth his sonne. But « art thou afrayd to goe to him also? he is thy brother and thy flesh, « tempted by all without sinne, that he might become mercifull. Mary gaue « thee this brother, but perhaps in him also thou feareſt the diuine Maiesty, « because though he became man, yet he remayned God: wilt thou haue « an Aduocate to him also? Haue recourse to Mary; for the humanity is « pure in Mary, not only pure from all defilement, but also pure by the sin- « glenes of her nature. Neither doe I say it doubtfully; she also shall be « heard for her reuerence. Doubtlesse the sonne will heare his mother, & « the Father will heare his sonne. My children this is the sinners ladder, this « is my greatest confidence, this is the whole reason of my hope for what? « Can the sonne either repell, or suffer the repulse? can the sonne either « not heare, or not be heard? Neither certainly. Thou hast found (saith « the Angell) grace with God. Happily. She shall alway find grace, and « it is only grace which we need. That wise Virgin did not require wise- « dome, as Salomon did, not riches, nor honours, nor power but « grace: because it is only grace, by which we are saued. Why do we de- « sire other things brethren? Let vs seeke for grace, and let vs seeke for it « by Mary, because she findeth that, which she seeketh and can not be fru- « strated. And in the end of his sermon: But what soeuer it be, « which thou prepareſt to offer, remember to commend it to Mary, that « grace may returne to the giuer by the same channell, by which it came « in: for God was not vnable to infuse grace as it pleaſe him, without « this conduit (viz. Mary) but he would prouide thee of a conueyance. For « peraduenture thy hands are either full of blood, or infected with guifts, « because thou hast not shaken all gifts from of them. And therfore that « litle, which thou deſyreſt to offer, procure to deliuer to those most grat- « full, and most acceptable hands of Mary to haue it offered, if thou wilt « not susteyne the repulse.

Thus far S. Bernard, who no doubt knew what Idolatry meaneth, as well as Mr. Downam doth, and would haue by as loth to haue committed it, as he, and yet was not afrayed to shew this deuotion to our B. Lady, in

which

which in effect is conteyned, as much as M. Downam hath obiected. But let vs see some few more. S. Ephraem calleth our B. Lady, the Queene of all, the hope of those which despayre, his most glorious and B. Lady, higher then those which dwell in heauen, purer then the beames and splendours of the sunne, more honourable then the Cherubims, and spirites which haue many eyes, holyer then the Seraphims, and without comparison more glorious then all the other heauenly armyes, the hope of the Fathers, the glory of the Prophets, the prayse of the Apostles, the honour of Martyrs, the gladnesse of Saints, and the light of those which loue Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob; the renowne of Aaron, the splendour of Moyses, and the fleece of Gedeon; the crowne of the company of Hierarchies, and of all Saints and Virgins; inaccessible by reason of her brightnes, a golden altar, a most glistering lanterne, a vessell containing heauenly Manna, a table bringing the written law to men, the true Arke, a most diuine paper, the princesse of all, a most circumspect and lightsome Virgin, a most holy consolation, and the guide of all, a most holy Virgin.

In orat. de laud. Sanctiss. Dei Mat.

And a little after speaking to her, he vseth these wordes: By thee we haue bye reconcyled to Christ my God thy sonne; Thou art the helper of sinners, and those which are destitute of ayde. Thou art the hauen of those which are tossed with stormes, the comfort of the world, a most famous deliuerer of prisoners. Thou art the receipt of Orphanes, the redemption of Captiues, the exultation of the sick and the saluation of all. Thou art the establishement of all those which are solitary, and the hope of worldly people. Thou art the ornament, crowne, and ioy of Virgins. Keepe and protect me vnder thy Virgins. I haue no other trust ô sincere Virgin, I am wholy vnder thy defence and protection. After this he returneth againe to new prayses of her which it were too long to recite. Amōg many other he calleth her his Lady higher then all, the peace, ioy, and saluation of the world, the refuge of sinners, the hope of all good men in aduersity, the Queene and defence both of men and women, the most glorious Mediatrix of the world &c. Likewise in another place he saluteth her as our Lady, the only hope of those which are in despayre, the reliefe of the oppressed, the most present help of those which run to her, the refuge of all Christians. The like he repeateth also in other places, which I omit.

Orat. ad Sanctiss. Dei genit.

Lib. de excellent. gloriosiss. Virg. Mariæ cap. 12.

S. Anselme our most worthy Archbishop of Canterbury writeth, that for vs our B. Lady was exalted to so great dignity.

that

that all creatures together haue, and reuerence her as their Lady, that our B. Sauiour without doubt will be most ready and easy to graunt whatsoeuer she will, yea that from the beginning of mans renouation she hath relieued all them hitherto, which fled vnder her protection, and for this cause she hath deserued to be called, and to be most prayse worthie aboue all creatures. And in the same booke c. 6. he is not afrayd to say, that sometymes we are sooner heard, calling vpon the name of the Virgin, then by inuocating the name of her sonne: the reason whereof is, not, as perhaps M. Downam will imagine, because S. Anselme thought our Lady more mercyfull then her sonne; but because she only intermedleth with mercy, as our Aduocate, whereas our B. Sauiour being our Iudge also, hath care of his Iustice, by which sometymes his mercy is deteyned: for which cause this Saynt tooke it also to be a great signe of ones predestination to be cordially, and from the heart deuoted to the most Glorious Virgin.

To these we may well add S. Iohn Damascen, who by his deuout prayers to our B. Lady had his right hand restored, which by the treacherous slaunder of the wicked Emperour Leo he had lost, because he wrote so zealously and learnedly in the defence of Images; and therfore it is no meruayle though this holy man be as forward in our Ladyes prayses as any other? calling her *an excellent ornament of mankind, the glory of Priests, the hope of Christians &c.* professing that he had her *solam gaudij spem, the only hope of ioy, vitæ antistitem, the ruler of his life, firmamá; salutis aream, a firme pledge of saluation, the saluation of mankind, sola sancta, sola benedicta, only holy and blessed*; in so much that he doubted not to say to her: *I repose all my hope in thee, O Mother of light, keepe me vnder thy protection*; finally (for I will conclude) S. Gregory Nazianzen who was deseruedly called and accounted a most excellent Deuine, doubteth not to call this most Glorious Virgin, *Queene, and Lady*, and to desyre that she would be *his greatest saluation*; and that which is most strange of all, he writeth that she was accounted *as a Goddesse, vt Dea habita*. And that great piller and stay of the Catholike Church and Fayth in his tyme, S. Athanasius, calleth her *againe and againe, and allwayes, and in euery respect, most Blessed*; and inuocateth her in these wordes: *Intercede hera, & domina, & regina, & mater Dei*

Orat. 1. de nat. B. Mariæ.

In carmin. ad B. Virg.

In fine Tract. ad Christus patiens.

Serm. in Euang. de sanctiss. nostra Deipara.

Dei pro nobis: pray for vs ô Myſtreſſe, and Lady, and Queene, and Mother of God: where we may note the blyndnes of Protestants; for they cannot deny this B. Virgin to be the Mother of God, and yet they will not admit the reſt of theſe tytles; whereas notwithſtanding that is far more excellent, then all the other, as might eaſily be conuinced by reaſon, and appeareth plainly by the graduation, which *S. Athanaſius* maketh in this place; which he alſo more expreſly declareth in theſe wordes a litle before: *Since that he which was borne of the Virgin is Lord, King, & God: therfore the Mother alſo, which bare him is properly and truly iudged both a Queene, and a Lady, and the Mother of God.*

The heretikes admitte as hard ſpeaches as any they obiect againſt vs:

Heere I might enlarge my ſelfe, by ſhewing that in their ſenſe the Heretikes themſelues admit as hard ſpeaches, as theſe are, which they obiect againſt vs; and that many tymes to a far worſe purpoſe, and of much leſſe worthy perſons. But I loue not to rake in thoſe dunghills, though many tymes it is neceſſary to let them ſee their owne filthyneſſe, and abſurdity: wherfore I will content my ſelfe with one or two places out of them, concerning our B. Lady, and one only of gentle *M. Caluin.* Firſt then *Iohn Oecolampadius* did not (euen after he was gone out from vs) only acknowledge our B. Lady to *be aboue all, the Queene of all, the Aduocate of mankind, the Queene of mercy*, and much more comparing and preferring her with and before both Saynts and Angels; but alſo expreſſely pronounced this ſentence againſt all thoſe which are not deuout to this moſt Glorious Virgin: *Erga eam minùs bene affici, reprobatæ mentis certum exiſtimo indicium. I think it to be a certeyn token of a reprobate mynd, to be not ſo well affected to her*; which he afterward confirmed in himſelfe, for at length he fell from this good opinion of our B. Lady to moſt horrible and blaſphemous rayling againſt her, that all men might ſee, that euen by his owne iudgement he was giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe; in ſo much that *Luther* doubted not to affirme that he was ſlayne by the Diuell, as indeed he had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, being found ſuddainly dead in his bed by his inceſtuous wife: And *Willibelmꝰ Bidenbacchius*, & *Luke Oſiander* were not afraid to acknowledg,

Serm. de laudan. in Maria Deo. apud Caniſ. de Maria Virg. Deipara. c. 10.

Serm. de feſto omnium Sanctor.

See Sararius orat. de Diſput. diab. cum Luthero of him & others.

In lib. ad assertiones D. Torrensis apud Caniſ. lib. 5. de Maria Virgin. Diſp. cap. 13

that in ſome ſenſe *Maria poſſit dici ſaluatrix*, *Mary may be called a Sauiour*; viz. becauſe by the Canticle of *Magnificat*, *ſuo modo, & pro ſua vocatione*, after her manner, and according to her vocation ſhe preached the Ghoſpell, and ſo ſaued many men. Doe you not ſee whither this tendeth? for ſince, that they themſelues in their opinion preach the Ghoſpell after a more expreſſe manner, and with another kind of vocation, is it not good reaſon, think you, that theſe men ſhould be called Sauiours after a more perfect manner then our B. Lady?

Epiſt. Caluin. 24. apud Hooker præfat. pa. 5.

But to put you out of all doubt of their deſyre; heare a Miniſter expreſſely applying the wordes, which are ſpoken of our B. Sauiour himſelfe to *M. Caluin*. The wordes are theſe Pſal. 117. and Luc. 20. *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt ædificantes, hic factus eſt in caput anguli.* Let *M. Downam* declare how this may be done, and it will be an eaſy matter to anſwer his obiection of *S. Bonauenture* Pſalter. It were no hard matter to produce many other like examples, but as I ſayd, I loue not to wade too farre in this myre; and therfore I will conclude with that notorious inſolency of the ſame *Caluin* when hauing prohibited the Images of Chriſt and his Saynts, he could notwithſtanding very well abide to ſee his owne picture hanging about his followers neckes, yea being admoniſhed of it by ſome of his friends who were offended with it, he fell into a great chafe, and brake into ſuch angry wordes, that he bad them that could not away with that ſight, either pluck out their eyes, or go hang themſelues, his wordes in french were, *quien aura deſpit, en puiſſe creuer*. And this ſhall ſuffice in anſwere of this whole obiection.

Vita Calu. cap. 12. apud Guil. Reynold. in Caluino-Turciſm. lib. 2. c. 18. pag. 368.

The Pope not oppoſite to Chriſts Kingdome.

10. Hitherto we haue largely diſcuſſed the oppoſition, which *M. Downã* ſuppoſeth to be made by the Pope againſt Chriſts prieſthood; now wee come to that, which he obiecteth concerning his Kingdome, where I ſhalbe more briefe, as his obiection requireth which conſiſteth for the moſt part, of his bare affirmation without any proofe at all, and ſuppoſeth alſo the principall queſtion, *viz.* that the Proteſtants are the true Church of Chriſt, and the like. Firſt then he ſayth that the Pope *killeth the bodies of theſe true ſeruants*

ſeruants of Chriſt, the Proteſtants, and theſe Saints and Martyrs of Ieſus. Can any thing be more ridiculous then this? Can any Proteſtant be ſo ſylly & ignorãt, as not to diſcouer this groſſe abſurdity? Doth not euery man ſee what anſwere Catholikes will make? viz. that Proteſtants are not the ſeruants but the enemyes of Chriſt, and conſequently that thoſe, which ſuffer for their hereſy are not Saynts or Martyrs, but forlorne and damned wretches, which begin to haue their hell in this life. But let vs heare, how this poore Doctor goeth forward. Downãs abſurd *petitio principij*.

He obiecteth next, that the Pope *murthereth ſoules, poyſoning them with his dammable errours, and making them drunke with the wine of his fornications.* Is heere any thing but rayling? we deny that the Pope mainteyneth any errours, or hereſyes, which are ſpirituall fornications; yea we charge the Proteſtants with both; and M. *Downam* ſeemeth now to ſuppoſe, that this is out of controuerſy, and graunted by his aduerſary, or els he would neuer be ſo mad, as to ground his arguments thereupon. But he will perhaps reply, that I take him ſomewhat too ſhort, and if that I would heare his whole tale, he would proue all that he ſaith euen by our owne confeſſion, for he preſently addeth: *Now in making hauock of mens ſoules, he* (the Pope) *taketh ſuch liberty vnto him, that if he ſhould draw innumerable ſoules into hell, yet no man may ſay vnto him, Domine cur ita facis?* Syr why do you ſo? and he noteth in the margent *Gloſſ. iur. Can.* for all which we might haue ſought long inough before we ſhould haue found any ſuch matter, as M. *Downam* obiecteth; and yet I muſt needes ſay thus much for him, that he dealeth more ſincerly, then ſome of his fellowes haue done, which haue obiected the ſame wordes; as M. *Downam* might haue ſeene in a booke which came out a yeare before this of his, where the matter is fully diſcuſſed, & the fraud of a knight and a Miniſter moſt clearly diſcouered; and withall this obiection of M. *Downam* moſt manifeſtly confuted. And therefore I will ſaue a labour, and only rehearſe ſo much of that authors wordes, as make to my purpoſe. Thus then he wryteth. The Warnword of N D Enc. 2. cap. 12. n. 23. 24. againſt Syr Fr. Haſtings and O. E. aliãs Sutcliffe.

Sure I am, that theſe wordes (Syr why doe you ſo) are not in

the Canon, Si Papa (as those two did alleadge) *neyther in any els, to the sense which they alledge it, for though in another part, and farre different of the Canon Law, I doe fynd some such wordes in the glosse, that in some cases no man may exact a reason of the Popes doinges, when they depend only of his will and arbitrement, yet are they not spoken to such purpose, as here they are alledged, nor annexed with the former words of drawing infinite soules with him into hell; but apperteyning only to a particuler case; as namely of free disposing or transferring of Church goods from one Church to another, without obligation to yield reasons for the same, but only his iudgement and will. The wordes of the glosse talking of this particuler case are these: Licet inferiores iura vnius Ecclesiæ in aliam sine certa solemnitate transferre non possunt; Papa tamen gaudet plenitudine potestatis, & hoc facere potest, nec est qui andeat dicere, Domine cur ita facis? cum in ijs quæ de iure positiuo sunt possit pro libito super his dispensare. Albeit inferiour Prelates, cannot transferre the rights of one particuler Church to another, but by a certeyn prescript forme of solemnity appoynted by law, yet the Pope (being generall head of all) may doe it by the fulnesse of his power, neither is there any man, that may be so bould, as to aske him, why he doth soe? seeing that in those things, which are only of positiue (or humane, and not diuine law) he may dispense as he thinketh best. This is the speach and opinion of this Doctour Iohn de Fauo, in his glosse and commentary vpon a certeyn Canon.*

Gloss. in extrau. Apost. Io. 22. tit 5. c. 1. continetur.

False & wicked dealing in peruerting of authors.

Thus farre this worthie authour, whome I should haue iniured in some sort, if I had not acknowledged, where I found this solution, because without him I must confesse, that I should not haue easily found out what glosse M. *Downam* meant, and besydes the solution is so sufficient, as nothing needeth to be added; for it were from the purpose now, to shew that this authority, which the glosse giueth to the Pope is lawfull, neither doe I think that M. *Downam* will easily call it in question, if he remembreth what hauock King *Henry* and Queene *Elizabeth* in England (to omit other Protestants in other places) haue made of Church-liuings: for it is certeyn, that neuer any Pope presumed to doe halfe so much. But this is from our present purpose, from which also M. *Downam* spake altogeather, when he obiected this glosse, to shew, that the Pope may without reprehension, make hauock of soules.

The Pope taketh not so much to himselfe about Church liuings as Protestants doe

Wherfore

Wherfore now let vs goe forward with M. *Downam*, who after a gloſſe cõmeth to a canon, viz. *Canon Si Papa, diſt.* 40. where it is ſayd, *If the Pope doe carry with him innumerable people by troupes into hell, no man in this world may preſume to reproue his faults, becauſe he is to iudge all, and to be iudged of none, vnleſſe he be found to erre from the fayth*, which (ſayth M. *Downam*) *the Pope as he is Pope cannot doe.* This Canon is anſwered alſo by the ſame authour N. D. in the ſame chapter, but becauſe M. *Downam* maketh mention of *Bellarmines* anſwer, and taketh vpon him to impugne the ſame, I muſt not omit that; Wherfore I will ſet downe both the obiection of *Illyricus*, and the anſwer of Bellarmine therunto in their owne wordes.

Lib. 3. de Pontif. Roman. cap. 21.

The Pope himſelfe (ſayth Illyricus) confeſſeth it diſt. 40. *Si Papa. If the Pope ſhould draw infinite ſoules with him to hell, yet no man muſt ſay vnto him, what doe you? and the gloſſe ſayth, the Popes will ſtandeth for a reaſon.* Thus *Illyricus*: to which *Bellarmine* anſwereth in theſe wordes: *The Canon which beginneth, Si Papa is not (as Illyricus falſely ſayth) of any Roman biſhop, but of S. Boniſacius biſhop of Mentz, the Apoſtle of the Germans, and a Martyr, who indeed denyeth not, that the Pope, if he liueth euill, is not to be reprehended, and admoniſhed by fraternall charity, but he denyeth that he can be argued or iudged by authority, ſince that he is the iudge of all men. Which S. Boniſacius alſo in thoſe wordes which goe before the Canon (as is to be ſeene in the new edition of the Decree) calleth expreſſely the Roman Church, the head of all Churches, and affirmeth that the health of the whole Church dependeth of the Popes ſafety, after God. Wherfore I aſke of Illyricus, whether the ſentence of S. Boniſacius the Apoſtle of the Germans be true or not: for if it be not true, why is it obiected againſt vs? If it be true, why is it not receiued? I will ſay the ſame more plainly: if that ſentence be not true, then it is not true, that it may not be ſayd to the Pope, who draweth many ſoules with him to hell, what doe you? If it be true, then is the Biſhop of Rome truly the head of all Churches, and being to iudge all, is to be iudged of none. Wherfore let Illyricus now leaue alledging Canons, which can profite him nothing. Now for the Gloſſe, let Illyricus know that it is either taken away by the Pope himſelfe in the new edition of the decree as being falſe, or els it was neuer in the Decree, for einly I could not fynd it.*

Thus farre *Bellarmine*; where we may note firſt, the falſe

falseallegation of this Canon by *Illyricus* as well, as by the other two authours, intermingling the words of the former glosse with this Canon, to make the matter seeme more odious; which notwithstanding *Bellarmine* thought good to let passe, because in some sort all come to one sense: but N. D. did most wisely examine the matter more fully, especially because he wrote in the vulgar tongue, and knew very well, how the common people are deceiued, and carryed away with such shew of wordes. Now M. *Downam* though he alledgeth both still, and to the same sense also, in which he cannot be excused, yet he distinguisheth them very honestly with diuers quotations, though in that of the glosse he is very confused, as hath byn seene. Well, now let vs see, how sincere and sound we shall find him in his reply against *Bellarmines* answere; you shall heare his owne wordes: *Hereunto* (saith he) *Bellarmine answereth, that the wordes of this Canon be not the wordes of any Pope, but of Boniface the Archbishop of Mentz; yea but say I, the Pope hath so approued this speach being deliuered by another, as that he hath canonized it, and appointed it for one of the Canons of his Law, which is more then if it had byn spoken by himselfe. But Bellarmine replyeth; if this sentence of Boniface be not true, why do you obiect it? if it be true, why do you not receiue it? I answere, because it being not only false, but blasphemous also, and Antichristian, it is notwithstanding by the Pope authorized for a Canon in his Law.* So he.

Downam omitteth Bellarmines answer.

And now the discreet Reader must Iudge, whether this be a good reply, or answere, or no; for first you see *Bellarmines* answere indeed wholy omitted, which consisteth in explaning the sense of those words which were obiected, and shewing that it was most true. To this M. *Downam* hath not a word to reply, and consequently in effect acknowledgeth, that this obiection is of no force: though notwithstanding his malice made him so absurd as to repeate it anew, as though it had byn vnanswerable: so true is that which the Apostle saith of Heretikes, that *Tit. 3.* they are condemned by their owne iudgement. Wherfore hauing thus omitted the answere indeed, he taketh hold of some other wordes, which *Bellarmine* vttereth by the way by occasion of *Illyricus* his false citation of this Canon, as though

though it had contayned the wordes of ſome Pope, which *Bellarmine* theweth to be otherwiſe. Here *M. Downã* thought he had gotten an aduantage, and therfore commeth vpon *Bellarmine* with a fierce reply: that the Pope hath *approued theſe words for a Canon of his Law, which is more, then if it had byn ſpoken by himſelfe*. To which I might eaſily anſwere, that Bellarmine denyed not this, but only that they were the words of any Pope, as *Illyricus* affirmed, perhaps thinking that this had byn *Bonifacius* the Pope, and not the Archbiſhop of Mentz.

Secondly it is alſo falſe, that it is more to be a Canon of the Popes law, then to be ſpoken by the Pope himſelfe, if we vnderſtand of the Pope, as he is Pope; but thirdly to anſwere yet more directly to M. *Downam*, who muſt conſider, to what end and purpoſe this ſaying of *S. Bonifacius* is alleadged in the Canon law, and made a Canon thereof; for in that reſpect only doth it receiue any authority or confirmation from the Pope; and in all other it belongeth only to the authour, out of whome it is taken; wherfore let vs ſee what the Pope intendeth to decree in that Canon; this appeareth by the title therof, and of the other Chapters of that diſtinction; for which it is to be noted, that from the 15. to the 49. diſtinction, there is nothing els treated in the Canon law, but an expoſition of thoſe qualityes, which S. *Paul* in his two Epiſtles requireth in a Biſhop. And in this 4. diſtinction, in which this Canon is, that word *ornatum*, that the Biſhop muſt be adorned, beginneth to be explycated, by declaring, that it is neceſſary for a Biſhop to be adorned inwardly with vertues; and to this intent and no other are *S. Bonifacius* his words alledged, for which cauſe the title prefyxed in this *Damnatur Apoſtolicus, qui ſua & fraterna ſalutis eſt negligens; The Pope is damned, who is negligent of his owne and his brethrens ſalvation:* & with this agree the titles of all the other chapters of that diſtinction, the firſt wherof is, that the *office of prieſthood doth not giue, but take away the liberty of ſynning*: of the ſecond this: *They are the children of Sayns, which exerciſe their workes.* Of the third; *Let the nobility of conditions, not of place or kindred make Prieſts knowne*. Of the 4. *Not place or orders, but merits*

The ſcope and intent of the Canon, Si Papa.

1. *Tim.* 3. *Tit.* 1.

vnite

vnite vs to God. Of the 5. *The greatnes of the synne, or the dignity doth much detect*. The sixt is that which wee haue now in hand, and those which follow are agreable to these

But perhaps some will meruayle to see the wordes of the Canon, which M. *Downam* alledgeth, so litle answerable to the title, and the whole scope of the distinction; for in them there is no mention at all of the Popes damnation, which should be most of all insisted vpon. To which there needeth no other answer, then only a bare recytall of the words of the Canon, which M. *Downam* omitted; which are these: *If the Pope be found negligent of his owne saluation, and of the saluation of his brethren, vnprofitable and remisse in his owne workes, and moreouer silent from good; so that he doth rather hurt himselfe and all, neuertheless he leadeth innumerable people by troupes or multitudes together with himselfe the chiefest bondslaue of hell, there to be punished with him euerlastingly with many stripes &c.* Where you see an euill Pope is not only sayd to be damned, but also is called the chiefest bondslaue of hell: for which cause only the words of *S. Boniface* are produced in this place; by which M. *Downams* sincerity is not a litle blemished; and his reply is plainly confuted, and *Bellarmines dilemma*, which M. *Downam* fondly calleth a reply, as though he had impugned this deuise of his, standeth in force; because it is manifest, that this saying of S. *Boniface* *that no man in this wold may presume to reprone (by authority) the Popes fault, because he is to iudge all, and to be iudged of none, vnlesse he be found to erre from the fayth*, is not authorized by the Pope for a Canon in his law, but only the former part, that euill Popes are to be damned, as the chiefest bondslaues of hell; I might adde, that the glosse in this place holdeth, that the Pope may be accused of any crime, when it is notorious, and the Church is scandalized, and he is incorrigible; but of heresy only when it is secret and hidden. But that which hath bin sayd is sufficient to declare M. *Downams* absurdity, which appeareth also not a litle in that note which he maketh, that the *Pope as he is Pope*, cannot erre from the fayth; for the true sense of this is no other, then that the Pope cannot propose to the Church by his authority, and *ex Cathedra*, as we say, any errour or heresy; which is altogether impertinent

Downam omitteth that which is chiefly intended.

ſment to our preſent purpoſe, wher we only ſpeake of the Popes perſonall and priuate crimes.

The reſt which M. *Downam* addeth, is nothing els, but a bare repetition of ſome poynts in controuerſy, in all which he ſuppoſeth that the Pope teacheth falſe doctrine, and the Proteſtants true; which as the Reader will eaſily diſcerue is no argument at all, but a moſt abſurd *petitio principij*: and yet I will briefly examine euery ſeuerall obiection. Firſt then he ſayth, that the Pope *Laboureth to extinguish faith in the hearts of men*, the Proteſtants, *ſpeciall faith*, & calleth it preſumption, wheras they eſteeme it *one of the chiefe workes of Gods ſpirit, the ſpirit of adoption &c.* what anſwer is to be expected here? ſhould I enter into this diſputation of the nature of fayth? or am I not only to anſwer M. *Downams* arguments? and to deny his bare aſſertions? Wherfor let vs goe on; for he addeth, that the Pope *acknowledgeth no other fayth, but ſuch as is common to the deuills (which conſiſteth only of knowledge and aſſent)* where he ſeemeth to inſinuate, that our fayth muſt conteyne ſome thing els, becauſe the deuills haue thus much. But S. *Iames* whome he quoteth in his margent c. 2. rather ſuppoſeth the contrary, that they which haue only fayth without workes, haue no more then the deuills haue, and conſequently, that he acknowledged not this ſpeciall fayth of Proteſtants, *apprehending the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt to our iuſtification*, which it is manifeſt the deuills haue not: and conſequently the Apoſtles argument falleth to the ground in M. *Downams* and the Proteſtants opinion; and hath only force in the Popes doctrine, which is the very ſame with that of the Apoſtle.

M. *Downams* petitio principij.

What fayth is neceſſary to ſaluation. *Iacob.* 2.

But M. *Downam* goeth yet further, and affirmeth, that the Pope *requireth not this* fayth which he admitteth *in the Lay people*; which is a moſt monſtrous lye by M. *Downams* leaue: for all Catholikes acknowledge this fayth to be abſolutely neceſſary in all ſortes of people, that there can be no ſaluation without it. Wherfore it ſeemeth, that M. *Downams* meaning is only to anouch, that the Pope requireth not explicite or expreſſe fayth in all poynts whatſoeuer in the lay people: for preſently after he mentioneth *implicite fayth, by which* (he ſayth) that the Pope *nuzleth theſe*

lay people in palpable ignorance. And if this be his meaning, it is true; for the Pope holdeth indeed, that only some mysteries of our fayth, as that of the B. *Trinity*, of the incarnation and passion of our B. Sauiour, and the like, are necessary to be expressely knowne and beleeued by all; and that many may be saued though they be ignorant of many things which are taught in the scriptures, or defined in Councells. And if M. *Downam* holdeth the contrary he is much more rigorous, then many of his fellowes; and besydes will condemne not only many lay people, but most of his ministers also, few of which if they should be cald to account, haue so expresse a fayth as this would be; yea most of their best learned men maintayne, that so long as a man holdeth certaine fundamentall principles he belongeth to the true Church, and hath sufficient fayth to his saluation; though he hath not so much as implicite fayth in many other poynts; yea though he doth expressely deny and impugne them; wheras the Pope and all Catholikes doe teach, that the denyall of any one poynt of fayth, with obstinacy and pertinacy, excludeth from the Church, bereaueth of all true, diuine, and supernaturall fayth, and consequently depriueth of Gods grace and eternall saluation; and therfore it is necessary at least, that all haue implicite fayth, in all poynts whatsoeuer, that is, that in such things as aman knoweth not expressely to be defined or declared for matters of fayth, he must submit his iudgement, and referre himselfe to the Catholike Church, as to the teacher of all truth,, with which he meaneth to agree in all things, and not to contradict, or impugne her in any. This is indeed the Popes doctrine, and the difference betwixt him and Protestants by which the discreet Reader will easily perceiue, that the Pope is no friend of ignorance, for he bindeth none to this implicite fayth, but such as through their owne weakenesse, haue not the explicite; but he procureth vnity in fayth, and banisheth all heresyes, by obliging men at least to this implicite fayth, by which they agree in the manner that they ar able, with all true belieuers, and dissent from all heretikes, whose particuler badge and note it is, to impugne

What implicite fayth is.

pugne ſome poynt, or other, with moſt ignorant and malicious pertinacy.

His next obiection is concerning the keeping of the ſcriptures *from the people in an vnknowne tongue*, and the propoſing of the liues of Saynts to them to be read; both which obiections he made before in this very chapter num. 5. wher they were alſo anſwered, and therfor now it were a needleſſe repetition to ſpeak of them againe. Wherfor let vs ſee, how he goeth forward. *The lawes of Chriſt* (ſayth he) *the Pope partly diſpenſeth with, and partly abrogateth, making them of none effect by his owne conſtitutions and traditions*; This is a playne calumniation without any proofe, and therfor needeth no other anſwer, but a flat denyall. And that which followeth is no better, *that in the Church, inſteed of the offices and functions ordeyned by Chriſt, he hath created a new prieſthood, erected an hierarchy, conſecrated orders, and religions of his owne*; This is mere rayling, and might perhaps paſſe in a pulpit among Proteſtants, but to bring it for an argument, is one of the greateſt abſurdityes that can be poſſibly imagined. And for the thing it ſelfe M. *Downam* cannot be ignorant, that *Bellarmine*, and other Catholike authors proue all theſe things to be lawfull out of the ſcripture it ſelfe. From the Church he commeth to the common wealth, where he hath nothing to obiect, but that Catholikes believe that the Pope *may depoſe Emperours and Kinges, or other Princes, and abſolue their ſworne ſubiects from fidelity, and allegiance towards them*: Which is moſt true in ſome caſes, but not as he maliciouſly inſerteth, *becauſe Princes diſpleaſe the Pope*; for this may be many tymes without iuſt cauſe; and though it were not, yet vnleſſe it be ſuch, as is oppoſite to the preſeruation of fayth, and religion, Catholike Deuines admit not the Pope to proceed to the depoſition of Princes.

Scriptures.

The liues of Saynts.

The lawes of Chriſt.

The offices and functions ordeyned by Chriſt.

Depoſitiõ of Princes.

After this he ſayth, *that he might adde*, how the Pope ſeeketh to match our Sauiour in the offices of Prophet, Prieſt, and King: but this he remitteth to his next chapter, wher God willing all that he can ſay ſhalbe examined. Now he will conclude with ſhewing vs how the Pope is *oppoſite to the benefites of Chriſt*, which he affirmeth him to be, *as he is*

an enemy to the grace of God, as he taketh away Christian liberty, and taketh vpon him to make new lawes to bind the conscience; as he abridgeth the merites of Christ, and ascribeth the merit of saluation not only to our owne workes prescribed of God, but also to such, as haue byn in superstition, will-worship and Idolatry deuised by themselues, as he teacheth men to seeke saluation else where then in Christ. Thus he; where you see agayn many calumniations without any proofe; and these are his arguments, that the Pope is Antichrist; by which I suppose any discreet Reader will easily discouer, that this assertion of Protestants, hath no other ground, but their owne idle, or rather malicious conceyt. And to take a briefe view of these calumniations, I would willingly know in what M. *Downam* conceiueth the Pope to *be an enemy to the grace of God*; for certeinly I know not, with what pretext this can be called in question; and the very same is of true Christian liberty, which standeth with the obseruance of Gods lawes, and due subiection to lawfull Superiours, all which no doubt may make new lawes to bind the conscience, and therfore no meruayle, though the Pope may doe so likewise. For the question of merites, it is false, that the Catholike doctrine abridgeth the merites of Christ, but rather attributeth much more efficacy vnto them, then Protestants doe. That which he calleth *superstition, will-worship, and idolatry*, is no other then the true worship of God, prescribed and allowed in the scriptures themselues; for the chiefe thing, which he aymeth at, seemeth to be the imbracing of the Euangelicall Counsayls, which are so plainly anouched in the new testament, that it is a wonder, that any man can be so impudent, as to deny them. But this is the force of heresy ioyned with a vehement desyre of all carnall and wicked liberty.

The grace of God.

Christian liberty.

Lawes which bind in cõscience.

Merites.

Superstition &c.

See M. Leeches Motiues.

Finally he can neuer shew that Catholikes teach men to seeke saluation else where then in Christ, except he will oppose the meanes giuen vs by Christ of obteyning our saluation, to Christ himselfe, who purchased by his most pretious passion, both them and it; and it had byn litle auaylable vnto vs, if he had only payd the price of our saluation, if he had not likewise giuen vs the meanes

Saluation in Christ

to

to obtayne it ; but he hath done both the one and the other moſt aboundantly ; and in the Catholike Church both are acknowledged and imbraced ; and out of it neither , becauſe the one is not only neglected , but alſo impugned , and it is impoſſible to attayn to ſaluation , except we take the right way and imbrace the true meanes . God graunt that *M . Downam* and all other may do ſo , while they haue tyme . And this ſhall ſuffiſe now , for I am only to anſwer ſuch obiections as M . *Downam* maketh ; though indeed theſe particuler controuerſyes were not now to be diſcuſſed , though they were proued , and much leſſe being only affirmed , as they are by *M . Downam* in this place .

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

VVHEREIN

M. Downams *Calumniations, concerning the Pride, and Ambition of Popes, are discussed.*

How Antichrist shall aduance himselfe aboue all that is called God.

BEFORE *M. Downam* entreth into his particuler proofes, that the Pope aduanceth himselfe aboue all that is called God; he is very carefull to explicate in what sort Antichrist is sayd by the Apostle to aduance himselfe aboue all that is called God. And therfor (*for auoyding of errour*) he sayth, *that we are to vnderstand the pride of Antichrist to be described such, as is incident to a wretched man, a man of sinne, a sonne of perdition. And the greatest pride that is incident not only to any man, but to any creature, be it the Diuell himselfe (whose Satanicall pride Antichrist was to imitate, and not to exceed) is this, to seeke to be God. VVhen as therfore it is sayd that Antichrist aduanceth himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped, it is not meant that he shall seeke to aduance himselfe aboue*

your God, or the Deity it selfe: for God being infinite in goodnesse, excellency and power, there cannot be conceiued a better, a superiour, a greater. And therfor wee cannot imagine how Antichrist should aduance himselfe aboue God. And it is euident, that the height of Antichrists pride here spoken of, is noted in these wordes, In so much as he shall sit in the temple of God as God: by all therfore that is called God wee are to vnderstand all those, to whome the name of God is communicated; not essence, for that cannot be communicated to any that is not God. Thus *M. Downam*. Of this we haue treated largely in the first part, and shewed that Antichrist shall oppose and extoll himselfe, as well against the true God, as all false Gods also; wherfore now it shalbe sufficient to answer briefly to these arguments or obiections, which *M. Downã* maketh in this place; first then he seemeth to thinke, that this opposition, and exaltation aboue the true God, is not incident to a wretched man, a man of sinne, a sonne of perdition, no not to the diuell himselfe, but only to seeke to be as God. *See part. 2. c. 14.*

To which I answer, that this opposition and exaltation may be pretended in two sortes, and by two kind of persons; first we may conceiue, that one should truly and really endeauour to oppose and exalt himselfe against the true God. Secondly, that he doth this only in shew, endeuouring to haue this opinion among men, that he is the only true God himselfe, and consequently oppositе and exalted aboue all, that are called or accounted Gods; The persons likewise may be either such, as haue a true knowledge of the true God, and of the Deity, or such as are in ignorance and errour in this behalfe. Now then I graunt *M. Downam*, that one which hath the true knowledge of the true God, cannot truly and really endeuour to oppose and exalt himselfe against him. And thus I graunt that the diuell neither when he fell, or since, did not oppose and exalt himselfe, and consequently neither shall Antichrist doe so, if we suppose, that he shall haue this true knowledge of God; becaus this were altogether impossible euen in his owne conceit to be obteyned, and therfore cannot effectually be desyred, howsoeuer he may take some complacence and pleasing delight in imagining himselfe

How & by whome the oppositiõ & exaltation aboue the true God may be pretended.

selfe to be so; or in thinking how happie he should be, if it were so, and wishing that it were possible, that he might be so; and purposing that if it were possible, he would attempt it; but because it is not certayne, that Antichrist shall haue this true knowledge of God, since that vndoubtedly he shall haue no true, & diuine fayth by which chiefly, if not only, this knowledge is atteyned with any perfection in this life; I cannot see, why it may not very well be graunted, that he shall truly and really oppose and exalt himselfe aboue the true God, not only seeking to perswade others, that he is so, but much more himselfe.

Neither do we want examples of those, which haue thus opposed and exalted themselues aboue the true God; for this is signifyed by those contemptuous wordes of *Pharao* Exod. 5. *Quis est Dominus, vt audiam vocem eius?* who is the Lord, that I should heare his voyce? thinking himselfe no way obliged to obey God; and *Rapsaces* 4. *Reg.* 18. braggeth, that the God of the Iewes was no more able to deliuer *Ierusalem* out of his hands, then the Gods of the other Nations which he had ouercome, had bene. Likewise *Nabuchodonosor* Dan. 3. did not only seeke to haue his statua adored by all, but also spared not to say to the 3. children, which refused: *Quis est Deus, qui eripiet vos de manu mea? What God is that, which can deliuer you out of my hands?* And the like may be sayd of all those, which sought to be Gods in their life tyme, as *Caligula*, *Commodus*, *Alexander*, and others; for though perhaps these acknowledged some false Gods to be aboue them; yet they made no account of the true God, as not esteming him to be any God at all. But least *M. Downam* should complayne, that these examples come short of that which we attribute to Antichrist, I will desyre him to consyder with attention, what is written of another *Nabuchodonosor* in the booke of *Iudith*; for ther we read, that he commaunded his generall *Holofernes* to destroy all the Gods of the earth, viz. that he alone might be called God by those Nations which could be subdued by *Holofernes* his power. And Holofernes proceeded accordingly as we read in the same 3. chapter, no only destroying the

Exod. 5.

4. Reg. 18.

Daniel. 3.

Iudith 3. 5. 6.

citties,

cityes, but also cutting downe the woodes (where those Nations did worship their Gods and Idols) euen of those, which submitted themselues vnto him, and receiued him with all triumph and applause, and afterward being told by *Achior*, of the great power of the God of *Israel*, he was nothing moued therwith, but resolued to go forward with his enterprize against the Iewes, not doubting of the victory, and with this intention, as he expressed himself: *vt sciat omnis Gens, quoniam Nabuchodonosor Deus terræ est. & præter ipsum alius non est*; that all Nations may know, that Nabuchodonosor is God of the Earth, and that there is no other God but he; which he repeateth againe with like wordes, *cap.* 6 *v.* 2. *&* 4.

In this sort then no doubt may Antichrist also oppose and exalt himselfe aboue the true God. But besides this, though we should admit (which is not certayne) that Antichrist should haue the true knowledge of the true God; yet he might be so wicked and proud, as to desire to be esteemed and acknowledged by men for the true God himselfe, and so extoll, and oppose himselfe aboue him that is the true God indeed, and whome he knoweth very well to be so. Thus there is no question, but that the Diuells haue sought to be honoured and adored as Gods, and at least the chiefe of them hath sought to extoll himselfe not only aboue the true God, for this they did all, but euen aboue all other Gods wharsoeuer. And they haue likewise opposed themselues (which M. *Downam* omitteth, as if *S. Paul* spake only of extolling) against the true God, though not alway against one another; wherefore Antichrist shall not be any thing hindred from this exaltation and opposition, by being a wretched man, if he vnderstandeth it of spirituall wretchednesse, that is wickednesse and impiety, but rather this shalbe the cause thereof, for being not only a man of sinne, a sonne of perdition, as *M. Downam* nicely translateth it, but *the Man of synne*, or as his owne approued Testament readeth, *that man of sinne*, and the sonne of perdition; ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας. No meruaile though he go as farre in this opposition as any, yea as farr

How Antichrist shall oppose and exalt himself aboue the true God.

Downam translateth not well.

as the Diuells themselues, eyther haue done, or can prouoke others. But if by wretchednesse he vnderstandeth only mortality, and other corporall miseries incident to mankind, the examples before alleaged do sufficiently proue, that these are no absolute hinderance, and besides I haue shewed heretofore by the examples of our B. *Sauiour*, that the true Godhead may consist with humane mortality. If by wretchednesse he should vnderstand pouerty, disgrace &c. the same example of our Sauiour conuinceth these to be no hinderance, and besides it is most certayne, that Antichrist shalbe a most powerfull and glorious Prince in the sight of worldly men.

The other reason, which M. *Downam* taketh from the infinite goodnesse, excellency and power of God, & from his Essence, which cannot be communicated, proueth very well, that indeed there can be no more, but one true God, and consequently, that any which know him perfectly, must needes confesse, that both Antichrist, and all other are false Gods: but this hindereth not Antichrist either by ignorance to think that he may be the true God without this; or at least to desire to be accounted so. Now for the place of Scripture, though we should graunt, that the height of Antichrists pride, is noted in those wordes, *In so much as he shall sit in the tẽple of God as God*, (though those former of opposing and extolling himself aboue all, that is called God, seeme as expresse) yet the matter were playne inough, if we follow either the interpretation of the Fathers, or the text it selfe; for as we haue seene in the first part, the Fathers doe manifestly acknowledge this sitting in the temple, to be to no other end, then by this particuler act, to declare his oppositiõ, and extolling himselfe aboue the true God, as well as the rest, by vsurping that place and honour, which is only due to the true God indeed, and the text it selfe conuinceth the same: for M. *Downam* cutteth of the wordes, which make most to the purpose, and which he himself recyted before, in which both the manner and end of Antichrists sitting in the temple is declared; *shewing himself*

2. *Thess.* 2. *See part.* 1. c. 13.

Downam omitteth that which is most to the purpose.

that

that he is God, as the Proteſtants read according to the Greeke ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός, or as though he were God, as the Rhemiſts tranſlate, following the Latin, tamquam ſit Deus, which doth not any way diminiſh the oppoſition and exaltation, which Antichriſt ſhall make aboue the true God, as M. Downam ſeemeth to ſuppoſe, but only inſinuate, that he is not the true God indeed.

Wherefore we may well conclude, that M. Downam without all probability denyeth this oppoſition and exaltation of Antichriſt abouet he true God, and withall we may perceiue that his heart beginneth to fayle him before he commeth to the combat: for this ſeemeth to be the true ground indeed of this aſſertion and expoſition, becauſe he is afrayed, that he cannot make any probable ſhew, that the Pope oppoſeth or extolleth himſelf aboue the true God; well let vs go forward and grant M. Downam the reſt of his expoſition, for no doubt, ſince (as we haue ſhewed) Antichriſt ſhall oppoſe and exalt himſelfe aboue the true God, he will do ſo much more aboue Angells, Princes, and Magiſtrats, to which M. Downam affirmeth that the name of God is communicated; and likwiſe aboue Images, Altars, Saints, the Croſſe, and Reliques of Saints, the Euchariſt &c. which he calleth σεβάσματα, following therin Bellarmine againſt the Magdeburgenſes. Neither will I now ſtand to examine, whether this word, Sap. 15. ſhould be tranſlated Idolls, or Images, but do grant, that Antichriſt ſhall oppoſe and exalt himſelfe aboue all, that was worſhipped among the Gentiles, or is now worſhipped in the Catholike Church, only I will note, that the Proteſtants haue no σεβάσματα at all in their Church, which ſeemeth ſomething to ſauour of Atheiſme; for it is ſtrang that only the diuell ſhould haue his σεβάσματα, and that God ſhould haue none, ſurely. S. Paul rather inſinuateth the contrary in this place; for he ſpeaketh both of true and falſe Gods, and conſequently alſo both of true & falſe σεβάσματα. The expoſitiō of Antichriſts ſitting in the temple, is neither much to our purpoſe in this place, and beſides in no ſort true or probable, as hath

The Proteſtants neere to Atheiſme.

byn proued heretofore: wherfore now I will not enter into that discourse, since that M. *Downam* bringeth no proofes for that he saith.

The bragge which he maketh concerning *Antiochus*, who is (as he saith) *thought to haue bin a type of Antichrist*, is somewhat obscure: his wordes are these. But to come to
« the explication of this Prophesy: If *Antiochus* were
« comparable to the Pope in aduancing himselfe aboue
« all that is called God: or if I shall not proue out of their
« owne (I meane Popish) writinges that he hath lifted vp
« himselfe in such manner, as is scarcely credible to be in-
« cident vnto a mortall man; then let not the Pope be deemed Antichrist &c. He semeth to signify, that *Antiochus* was not comparable to the Pope in this aduancing himselfe aboue all that is called God; and that he will proue this by shewing, how the Pope hath aduanced himselfe, out of Catholike writers. But hitherto we haue nothing but proud wordes, somewhat sauouring an Antichristian spirit: wherfore let vs goe forwards and examine what this boasting *Thraso* will be able to performe.

2. I shall not need to rehearse M. *Downams* arguement informe, for his *maior* or proposition consisteth of that, which we haue discussed hitherto, & therfore the Reader may easely perceiue, that I deny it in great part; wherfore let vs come to his *minor*, which consisteth in affirming, that the Pope extolleth himselfe aboue all that which M. *Downam* acknowledgeth that Antichrist shall extoll himselfe aboue; which though it were all true, yet nothing could be rightly inferred, because Antichrist is not only to extoll himselfe aboue all this, but also aboue the true God himselfe, as wee haue seene. But yet let vs examine M. *Downams* proofes of his *minor*; and see how he will shew vs, that the Pope extolleth himselfe aboue Angells, Princes, Magistrates, and all that is worshipped. First then he beginneth with Kinges and Emperours (giuing a friuolous reason already refuted) who seeme to be highest in his booke, as indeed they are among all Protestants, since that neyther Angells nor Saints are allowed to be adored or worshiped as Kings

Whether the Pope exalteth himselfe aboue Kinges or no.

are

are, to whom is attributed all authority and preheminéce both in ſpirituall and temporall affaires; wherefore you may eaſily imagine, that *M. Downam* out of his deuotion to theſe his only Angells and Saynts, will want no matter to charge the Pope withall concerning them.

Firſt then, *the Pope* (ſaith *M. Downam*) *if you will beleeue him & his fellowes, is the King of Kinges, & Lord of Lords: by whom Princes raigne, and from whome the right of Kings dependeth.* This he proueth chiefly by the teſtimony of one *Rod. Cupers* a Canoniſt, and he might with litle labour haue found many more of the ſame mind; ſince that none can be ignorant, that in a manner all *Canoniſts*, and ſome others with them doe teach, that the Pope hath direct power and authority, as well in temporall, as ſpirituall affayres through the whole world; which queſtion I haue no reaſon to enter into at this tyme, it hauing bin lately diſcuſſed to and fro at large. But it wilbe ſufficient only to note, that the greater part of Catholyke deuines do acknowledge in the Pope only an indirect temporall power ouer all the Chriſtian world, ſo that he may diſpoſe of tẽporall affayres only ſo farre as ſhalbe neceſſary to his ſpirituall end, of ſauing ſoules, and the good of the Church. And *M. Downam* cannot be ignorant that Cardinall *Bellarmine* mainteyneth this doctrine, and anſwereth the arguments of the other ſide, among which are thoſe texts of the Canon law, which *M. Downam* quoteth though indeed for the moſt part they be ſuch, as he rather vrgeth for arguments againſt the *Canoniſts*, then they againſt him: in which *M. Downams* vnskilfulneſſe in this difficulty appeareth not a litle. True it is, that all Catholiks doe attribute a farre more excellent power to the Pope, then vnto Princes, by reaſon of the great diuerſity of the end which is propoſed & prefixed vnto them; for that of the Pope is ſpirituall and eternall, that of Princes only corporall and temporall: and therefore the comparing of the one to the ſunne, and the other to the moone, is neither ridiculous nor to be reiected, as any who hath a true eſtimation of ſpirituall and euerlaſting thinges, and of his ſoules ſaluation, will eaſily confeſſe.

Bell. l. 5. de Rom. Pont. c. 3.

That other comparison which M *Iewell* alledgeth out of *Stamist. Orichamius*, is much to be suspected, for that man hath byn proued false in very many things, and no author can in equity without euident proofe be supposed so simple, that he would affirme, that there were no more difference betwixt God and a Priest, then there is betwixt euery Priest (for he speaketh not particularly of the Pope) and a King. There remayne yet two thinges in this heape of obiections, of which I must seuerally say a word or two. The first is, that *Emperours and Kinges as being but the Popes vassalls, are bound to sweare allegiance and fidelity to him*; & this M. *Downam* proueth out of a Chapter of the Canon law, which that the Reader may be fully informed, I will translate *verbatim*, and it is this: *I King Otho do cause a promise, and an Oath to be made to the Lord Iohn Pope, by the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, and by this wood of the viuificall Crosse, and by these Reliques of Saints, that if by our Lords permission I come to Rome, I will according to my ability exalt the holy Roman Church, and thee the Ruler thereof, and thou shalt neuer loose the life, or any members, or the honour it selfe, which thou hast, by my will, or by my counsell, or by my consent, or by my exhortation: and in the City of Rome I will make no decree or ordination of all that belongeth to thee and the Romans, without thy counsaile; and whatsoeuer of the Land of .S. Peter shall come to our power, I will restore it to thee: and to whomesoeuer I shall commit the Kingdome of Italy I will make him sweare, that he be thy ayder to defend the Land of S. Peter, according to his ability, so God me help, and these holy Ghosts ells.*

What Oath Emperours & Kings. sweare to the Pope.

c. *Tibi Domine. dist. 63.*

Lo heere the Oath of Allegiance, which maketh in M. *Downams* iudgement, Kinges, and Emperours but the Popes Vassals; but indeed, as euery indifferent, and discret man seeth, it is only an Oath of league, friendship, and fidelity of one neighbour Prince to another, and which with all reason is to be exacted of him, who is admitted into the others Dominions; especially, if there hath byn difficulty and variance, yea open warre and hostility betwixt them before; as no man is ignorãt, that there hath byn betwixt the Popes & the Emperours. It is also certayne out of the booke of Cerimonies (which

M.

M. Downam citeth in this place, as we ſhall preſently ſee) that this Oath was exacted of the Emperour, when he was comming towards *Rome* to be crowned by the Pope; in which occaſion he comming in ſuch triumph, and being receiued with ſuch ſolemnity as is there declared; and the Pope hauing no experience of his proceeding, what leſſe aſſurance could be required, then the foreſaid Oath? For which cauſe alſo it is in the ſame place recorded, that when the Emperour approcheth to the Citty, before his entrance he maketh another Oath in fauour of the *Romans*, that he will maintayne and keepe their good cuſtomes, ſo help him God. And yet I hope M. *Downã* doth not imagine, that the Emperour promiſeth them allegiance, and becommeth their Vaſſals. I omit the ſpirituall dignity of the Pope, in reſpect of which no doubt Emperours and Kings ought to be ſubiect and obedient to him, as well as meaner men, though not as Vaſſalls but as Children. *lib. 1. Cerimon ſect. 5. cap. 10.*

What reuerence and cerimonies the Emperours & Kinges vſe to the Pope.

The other obiection, which I meane to touch, is concerning the Cerimonyes, which Kings and Emperours vſe to the Pope: for firſt (ſaith *M. Downam, when they come into the preſence of his holyneſſe, they muſt after obeyſance done in three ſeuerall diſtances fall downe before him and kiſſe his foote. Secondly if they be in preſence when he taketh horſe, the Emperour or chiefeſt Prince that is preſent, muſt hold his right ſtirrop, and when he is mounted, muſt hold the bridle, and play the lackey for a certayne ſpace, and likewiſe when he lighteth of, muſt hold the right ſtirrop &c. Thirdly if it be his pleaſure to be carried aloft on mens ſhoulders, the Emperours, Kings, and Princes, that are preſent, muſt put vnder their ſhoulders, and help to carry his holyneſſe for a ſpace, and whiles he is on foot the Emperour or chiefeſt Prince muſt beare vp his trayne. Finally if the Emperour be at the Popes feaſt, his duety is before dinner to hold the Pope water to waſh his hands, and to bring in the firſt meſſe, for indeed,* Imperator eſt miniſter Papæ, *the Emperour is the Popes miniſter.*

Thus he; where you ſee M. *Downam* ſtill repeateth that (muſt) ſeeming deſirous, that people ſhould vnderſtand, that all this is exacted with great rigour; to which purpoſe alſo he telleth vs a tale out of *Iohn Bale*, and Hel-

Helmold of Pope *Adrian* the 4. who bitterly checked *Frederick* the Emperour for holding the stirop on the wrong syde. But these authors are not of sufficient authority to giue credit to so incredible and ridiculous of a narration; for *Helmold* seemeth not to be extant but by *Melancthon* and his schollers edition, who in such matters might easily add, alter, & take away at their pleasure; if the Emperour should haue giuen iust cause of thinking, that he committed that errour in contempt (the Pope being come out of *Rome* into his campe) some exception might be taken, but not after that ridiculous manner, as it is related: for that which Cardinall *Baronius* relateth is much more probable, that the Emperour altogeather refused to performe that act of humility, which was accustomed to be performed by his predecessours, at which the Pope was astonished, and the Cardinalls which came with him retyred themselues, fearing hard measure; for which cause the Pope admitted not the Emperour *ad osculum oris*, vntill the matter being discussed, he acknowledged, and corrected his errour. Well, notwithstanding all this, the truth is, that the booke of Cerimonies vseth not in some places the word (*debet*) and when that word is vsed, it only signifieth, what is to be done hereafter, if ancient customes of pious Princes be obserued; for other obligation then this for these cerimonies there is none that I euer heard of, but only of ciuill courtesie, and good manners, though in generall there is no doubt great obligation to shew all reuerence, & respect to Christes Vicar vpon earth, and our chiefest visible Pastour, as we shall touch afterwardes. And for this cause the greatest and worthiest Christian Princes that euer were, haue vsed these humiliations, as may be seene in D. *Harding* his confutation of the *Apology pag.* 184. *& seq.* where he produceth the examples of *Constantine* the great, *Charles* the great, King *Pipin*, and *Charles* the 5., of whom also he sheweth by the testmony of *Paulus Iouius*, that the Pope would not permit him to hould his stirrop, and withall that he stood vpon the left side; which in M. *Downams* conceipt is the wrong side, and yet was not checked.

But

But now let vs take a briefe view of the places, which M. *Downam* alledgeth, and perhaps wee shall find some circumstances omitted, which being expressed, the matter will not seem so heynous; first then concerning the Emperours comming to the Popes presence, thus it is related: *As soone as the Emperour seeth the Pope, he reuerenceth him bareheaded touching the ground with his knee. And againe when he commeth nigh to the steppes of the Popes seat, he kneeleth: at last he commeth to the Popes feet, and kisseth them deuoutly in the reuerence of our Sauiour. The Pope looking cheerfully vpon the Emperour, receiueth him ad osculum manus & oris. Then Cæsar kneeling againe, offereth a masse of gold at the Popes feet, and speaketh to the Pope, giuing him thankes for the honour receiued, as he shall thinke good. The Pope answering him louingly, listeth him vp, and imbraceth him in declaration of exceeding great charity. And the Emperour standing on the right hand of the Pope, he receiueth the Empresse to kisse his feet and hands. And a King &c.* Here then you see the practise of the three obeysances, and the kissing of the Popes feet, though it be performed, yet it is mixed with so much curtesy and signes of charity on the Popes part, as his place will permit in that occasion, all which M. *Downam* was willing to haue smoothered vp in silence. *Lib. 1. cer. sect 2. ca. 3.* Of the first comming to his presence. *Lib. 3. sect 1. cap. 3.*

But let vs goe forward, concerning the holding the Popes stirrop &c. thus sayth the booke: *When the Pope taketh horse, by the stepp, which wee spake of before, the greatest which is present, although he were a King, or Emperour, holdeth the stirrop of the Popes horse, and afterward leadeth the horse by the brydle a litle space*; and then he sheweth some difference to be obserued if ther be more Kinges then one; after which he addeth. *After the Emperour, King, or another great Prince hath led the horse a little way, let two other great noble men be substituted in their place, and let them be changed.* This he writeth in the solemnity of the Popes coronation. In another place describing the order, with which the Pope and the Emperour goe through the citty, after the Emperours coronation, he sayth thus: *The Emperour hauing giuen his scepter, and the golden apple (which the Pope presenteth him with at his coronation) to one of his followers, commeth before the Pope to his horse, and in the honour of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whose vicegerent the Pope is vpon earth,* *Lib. 1. sect 2. c. 3.* Of their holding his stirrop. *Li. 1 sec. 5. c. 4.*

At their leading his horse.

he holdeth the stirrop, while the Pope getteth on horseback; and afterward taking the horses brydle, leadeth the Popes horse for some paces. The Pope while the Emperour will exhibit these humble offices, must modestly make some litle refusall, and at length with some good words receauing the honour (as done) not to his owne person, but to his whose place he is in, he permitteth him to goe a litle forward: then he stayeth, and by no meanes suffereth Cæsar to goe any further: who presently taking his horse, goeth on the left syde of the Pope, and rideth vnder the same Canopy. Where wee might note many thinges, but the Reader will easily reflect vpon them himselfe, only I may put him in mind, there is neuer a (must) on the Emperours part, but only on the Popes.

Of holding his stirrop when he lighteth, or of bearing vp his trayn, I can find nothing. Of the Popes being caryed, thus the same booke relateth, *But if the Pope should not goe one horseback, but be caried in a chaire, the foure greatest Princes, although the Emperour, or any neuer so great Prince were present, in honour of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, must carry the chaire it selfe with the Pope vpon their shoulders a litle space. But there shallbe also 4. strong housholde seruãts, or familiars of the Pope, who shall susteyne the burthen, so that the Princes themselues may seeme rather to haue put to their hands in signe of pyous religion, and reuerence, then to vndergoe the burthen: who also shallbe changed for the disposition of the men, and the iourney.*

Of their helping to carry him.

Of their giuing him water, & bringing in a dish.

And by this wee may easily iudge, what respect is obserued in those other ceremonies of giuing the Pope water, and bringing in the first dish, for it were to longe to recite all; only wee may note this with the booke, that the Emperour, a King, or an exceeding great Prince hath his dish brought to him to the banketting house dore; so that all is done with that moderation, decency, and order, that in my mind any discreet man, especially if he be acquainted with the proceeding of Princes (which M. *Downam* seemeth not much to be, any more then my selfe) wil rather find much to commend and admire, then any thing to dispraise or mislike. At least this was the iugement of Princes and other informer ages; and is still of such as be pyous, and deuout Catholikes. Neyther doe I doubt, but that Protestants also, yea euen M. *Downam* himselfe, would

would thinke all litle inough, if they had the same conceit of the Popes place and greatnesse, which Catholikes haue; for I could neuer heare yet of any Protestant Bishop or Minister, that complayned of too much honour or reuerence done vnto them, & as for M. *Downam* himselfe he rather cryeth out greatly of the cõtrary in his Sermons.

And this inuectiue against the reuerence done to the Pope, seemeth to be like that other concerning the adoration of the most Blessed Sacrament, which notwithstanding is wonderfull absurd, supposing that our Sauiour himselfe is truly and really conteined therein, as the Catholike Church hath euer taught; for though there be no doubt great difference betwixt these two examples, yet we know, that our Sauiour accounteth that done to himselfe, which is done to his; so when the poore receiueth an almes, he receiueth it; when his seruants are persecuted, he is persecuted; when his Pastours and preachers are obeyed and heard, he is obeyed and heard; and why in the same manner is not he honored, when his vicar, and vicegerent is honored? And because M. *Downam* obiecteth only this booke of Ceremonies, he might (if he had pleased) haue noted in one of the places, which he alledged, that the Oratours or Embassadors of Princes and Potentates are receiued *ad osculum manus & oris*, as well as the Princes themselues, from which all others are excluded. And in the wordes recyted wee see, how often it is repeated, that all this reuerence is done to the Pope, in the honour of our Sauiour Iesus Christ.

Why the Pope is so much honored by Princes.

lib. 3. sect. 1. c. 3.

That which M. *Downam* addeth out of *S. Antoninus*, that *Imperator est minister Papæ*; *The Emperour is the Popes minister*, is altogeather spoken to another purpose; and is rather an argument of *Augustinus* of *Ancona* to proue that the *Pope may in some cases chuse an Emperour*, then any assertion of *S. Antoninus* himselfe; thouh the thing is euident if it be rightly vnderstood. For they only intend to affirme or proue that the Emperour is the minister of the Pope, so far as the Pope is the vicegerent of Christ vpon earth; that is chiefly & directly in spirituall affayres, according to the truest opinion of Deuines.

How the Emperour is say d to be the Popes minister. *part. 3. tit. 22. cap. 5. §. 13.*

3. From these matters of ceremonies M. *Downam* cometh to that of deposition of Princes, which he sayth is acknowleged by vs. And he sayth truly, if it be rightly vnderstood, as now of late by reason of the new oath, and the much vrging and discussing thereof, it is come to be; and the examples, which he bringeth of the proceeding of certayne Popes with some Emperours, haue byn particularly examined by the same occasion, and therfore I may very well passe all this ouer in silence, only I might aske M. *Downam*, where he read that *Henry* the 4. brought his wife and child with him to *Gregory* the 7. That he came with a good army, *Platina* relateth, but I neuer could finde in any author yet any mention of his wife & child, no not so much as in any obiectiō made by Protestants. Now this Emperour whatsoeuer he did, was not perswaded, nor commanded to doe it by the Pope. Only he did not presently beleeue, that his submission was vnfeyned, for which that he had sufficient reason, is manifest to any who knoweth the history, and the euent it selfe most of all declared.

Gregorie the 7.

Those other tales of *Alexander* the third, and *Celestin* the third, are triuiall and without sufficient proofe, most authors reporting no such matter. And for the first, the inconstancy of Protestants themselues maketh it not a litle doubtfull: for as *D. Harding* long since obserued, the latin *Apology* attributed it to *Innocentius* 3. and the English to *Innocentius* 8. though at the same tyme *Hugonots* in *France* reprinting the same *Apology*, made it to be *Alexander* 3. whose opinion euer since hath byn most common, because ther is mention in all authors, how that Pope, and the Emperour *Frederick* met at least, vpon which they make no difficulty to inferre the rest: for the other of Pope *Celestine*, M. *Downam* bringeth vs a (*some say*) which must needes be true, since that he is not the first Protestant, that made this obiection, and besides it is related by one ancient historyographer, as *Baronius* sheweth, *sed vna hirundo non facit ver*, especially since there are many others, who wanted neyther will nor industry to haue found out such an accident, if there had bin any, though indeed, if wee consider

Alexāder the 3. and Celestine the 3.

Doct. Harding cōfut. of the Apol. p. 188.

Innocētius the 3.

consider, what had passed with the Emperour then deceased; the Pope might seeme to haue had some reason, of making an extraordinary demonstration with his next successour. Finally he telleth vs of a *picture set vp in the place of Lateran* by Pope *Innocentius* the 2. his procurement (as he affirmeth) the Pope *sitting in his Pontificall throne, and the Emperour kneeling before him, and holding vp his hands, as vnto God*; by which he seemeth to insinuate, that this Pope would haue bin thought, to be the Emperors God.

But I am sory to see such blindnesse in *M. Downam*, because it giueth occasiō of suspecting much malice: If it be only of ignorance, I should be glad, for then it wilbe sufficient to tell him, that if there be such a picture, by whomsoeuer it was set vp, it declareth the manner of the Emperours coronation, which is done in that sort, and the Emperour holdeth vp his hands to God indeed, from whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to receiue his crowne, though it be by the Popes meanes. Likewise those words in the verses, *homo fit Papæ*, doe not signify as *M. Downam* translateth them, that the *Emperour became the Popes man*, at lea as the wordes sound in English (which *M. Downam* should in some sort haue explicated, if his meaning had byn only to informe, and not rather to deceiue his Reader) but that he did the accustomed reuerence to the Pope, which this poore Poet expressed in those wordes, meaning perhaps to call that reuerence homage, though strictly and properly it be not so; and yet by reasō of the benefits which the Emperours haue receiued of the Popes, somewhat more then ordinary is in all equity due from them.

As for *Nauclerus*, whom *M. Downam* only cireth, he is but a litle writer in comparison of others, who relate that history of Pope *Alexander* otherwise, yea *Nauclerus* himselfe alledgeth *Blondus*, who only maketh mention of the Emperours falling downe, and kissing the Popes feete, and how the Pope lifted him vp, and admitted him *ad osculum oris*. *Baronius* further sheweth, from whence *Nauclerus* tooke that other history; and that it conteyneth many fictions, or at least vulgar reportes, without any certayne ground;

of which (no doubt) this is one.

But now I would ask M. *Downam* what he thought to gayn by making these obiectiõs cõcerning the Popes greatnes aboue kinges? for without this particuler examinatiõ, I might very well haue answered him in a word; that all this greatnesse belõged to the Pope of right, & that at least he hath not so much as gone about to proue the cõtrary; and consequently that it was a vayne thing for him, to obiect that, which wee willingly acknowledge; for might not any that were so wickedly or idly disposed make the like obiections agaynst the Emperour, or any other King or Prince, shewing what priuiledges and preheminences they take to themselues? how they are reuerenced and respected, and the like? but what were all this to the purpose, vnlesse it were likewise proued, that these dignities and honours were not due vnto them? Surely nothing at all, and the very same is to be sayd of the Pope, of whome there can be no question, but that he is exalted by Christ aboue all earthly Princes, and Potẽtates whatsoeuer; but that he hath arrogated vnto himselfe any such authority, can neuer be proued; yea M. *Downam* doth not once offer to proue it; and yet is not ashamed to cry out, that the Pope is Antichrist, because he enioyeth the place, wherin Christ hath put him.

Downam speaketh from the purpose.

And, that other part of this friuolous discourse is no lesse foolish; for though all these particuler examples, which he bringeth, were true, and those Popes had exceeded their authority in them all, must they therefore presently be Antichrists? Is there no meane? how much more modestly doe Catholikes deale with Protestant Princes, who make open profession to preferre themselues before all Popes, and Prelates whatsoeuer? for though they euidently conuince them to exceed the bounds and limits of their iurisdiction, which is only terrene and temporall, yet they are farre from exclaiming agaynst them, as though they were Antichrists. But in this as well as in the rest, the difference of a Catholike and a Protestant, and much more of a Puritanicall spirit appeareth.

How much more modest Catholikes are then Protestãts & Puritãs.

4. After

4. After Kings and Emperours *M. Downam* cometh to Angells, which (as he ſayth) *are called Godsin heauen.* And that the Pope exalteth himſelfe aboue them, he proueth firſt by the Authority of *S. Antoninus*, who affirmeth that the *power of the Pope is greater then all other created powers:* which wordes that author hath indeed, with theſe others immediatly annexed vnto them, *poſt poteſtatem Chriſti, aliquo modo extendens ſe ad caleſtia &c. After the power of Chriſt, extending it ſelfe in ſome ſort to heauenly things*; and afterward he ſheweth particulerly of Angells, how they are ſayd to be ſubiect, or vnder the Pope in 4. reſpects. 1. *in iuriſdiction*, which in the Pope is very great *in vtroq; foro*, in Angells none in eyther. 2. *in Sacramentorum adminiſtratione*, in the adminiſtration of Sacraments, for the Angells cannot adminiſter them. 3. *in cognitione*, in knowledge, becauſe from the Apoſtles, whom the Pope ſucceedeth the Angells receiued the knowledge of many miſteries. 4. *in præmio*, for the Pope as well as other men may ſurpaſſe many Angells in glory. Now then let *M. Downam* ſhew that any part of this is falſe; which if he cannot, let him acknowledge himſelfe to be an abſurd Sophiſter, who goeth about to deceiue the ſimple people, with a ſhew of reaſon, when he hath none indeed.

S. Antonin⁹ ſu. p. 3. tit. 22. ca. 5.

Whether the Pope exalteth himſelfe aboue Angells.

Secondly he alledgeth the Councell of *Lateran*, affirming, *that vnto him is giuen all power aboue all powers*, as well of Heauen, as of the Earth. But firſt this is only the ſpeach of one Archbiſhop, in an oration which he made to the Councell: ſecondly he only alledgeth, and accommodateth the words of our Sauiour to the Pope, by telling him, that to him is giuen all power in Heauen and in Earth; which he vnderſtandeth only ſo farre, as is neceſſary for the good Gouernement of the militant Church committed to his charge; and expreſſeth only theſe thinges, that he ſhould command pēnance and reformation both in temporall and ſpirituall things to be preached through the whole world: and that he ſhould bind and conſtraine Chriſtian Princes vnder ſinne, and cenſures, to make an vniuerſall peace among themſelues, and a league againſt the Turke, at leaſt for the ſpace of

Concil. Later. ſub Leon. 10. ſeſſ. 10.

Matth. 16.

of ten yeares; in all which I would willingly know, what M. *Downam* misliketh; and in the meane tyme it appeareth how friuolous the application of that axiom which he inserteth, is in this place; *that he who sayeth all, excludeth nothing*; since that not only by other circumstances, but also by the expresse words of this oratour, it playnely appeareth, that he excludeth many things and includeth only so much, as hath byn sayd.

Thirdly, he bringeth in *Felinus* affirming, that the Pope hath *vicariatum Christi*, *the vicarship of Christ*; and Pope *Innocent* with *Cupers*, saying also, that *to the Vicar of the Creatour, that is the Pope, euery creature is subiect.* All which if it be rightly vnderstood, is very true; for who doubteth, but that the Pope is Christs vicar, and consequently, that all those creatures, who belōg to that part of Christs Kingdome, ouer which the Pope is appointed Christs and God vicar, are subiect vnto him? But sayth *M. Downam*, *Felinus* extendeth this vicarship not only *aboue things in heauen, in earth, in hell, but also aboue the Angells both good and bad.* To which I answere first, that *Felinus* is only quoted *apud Iuellum*, whose allegations vse to be very false. Secondly this seemeth rather to be inferred out of *Felinus*, then affirmed by him, as well, because his words are not set downe; as also by the citation of *Egmondanus*, which immediatly followeth for proofe of that assertion; for so he is sayd to affirme, *Pontificem Romanum habere imperium in Angelos ac Dæmonas*; but by whome is this reported? only by *Iohn Bale*, whose testimony in such a matter is of no credit at all.

The like wee may say of the three obiections, which follow; whereof the first is brought out of *Iewell*; the second hath an authour named, but without mention of Chapter, booke, or volume, though indeed, if these were sufficiently proued to be the sayings of those authors, and they were neuer so autenticall, yet they admit a very easy explication; since that they only affirme, that the Pope may command Angells; which is most certayne of the bad, as is apparent euen to sense and experience in exorcisme. The third testimonie is out of a Bull

Carnotensis.

of

of Clement 6. wherein M. Downam affirmeth, that he hath these words: *prorsus mandamus Angelis paradisi, quatenus animam à purgatorio penitus absolutam, in paradisi gloriam intraducant. VVe absolutly command the Angells of Paradise, that they carry the soule* (of any that die in their iourney vndertakē for the Iubily) *wholy freed from Purgatory into the glory of paradise.* But M. Downam should haue told vs, where this Bull is extant, for to vs it is more then probable, that it is a meere fiction. And sure we are that neither the Popes doe vse any such causes, nor any Catholyke deuines mainteyn any such doctrine, yea the Bull itselfe of Clement 6. which he wrote concerning this matter, & is extant in the Canon law *lib 5. extrauag. commun. tit. de pænit. & remiss. cap. 2.* sheweth the contrary. For speaking of such as should be hindered from doing the thing by him required either by sicknesse or death, he only graunteth that *verè pœnitentes & confessi eamdem indulgentiam consequantur; being truly penitent and confessed they should obteyne the same indulgence;* which he had giuen to others. And therfore this of the Popes exalting himselfe aboue Angells, can be accounted no lesse, then a most contumelious slaunder.

5. From Angells M. Downam proceedeth to Saynts, the Crosse, the Altar, and our God of bread (for so he blasphemoussy tearmeth the most Blessed Sacrament) And first he sayth out of S. Antoninus, that the Saynts are subiect to the Pope, quoad canonizationem, standing (as he saith) at the curtesy, and free disposition of the Pope, whether to be deified, that is as they speake, to be canonized, or to be deposed. In which wordes he affirmeth two things; first that canonization is indeed deification. Secondly, that this standeth at the curtesy, and free disposition of the Pope. The first is a manifest and a most malitious slaunder, and that in two respects. First, because he could not be ignorant of the great difference, which all Catholikes doe put, betwixt the dignity and worship of Saynts, and that of the deity and God. Secondly, because canonization doth not giue the Saynts this dignity, sanctity, and glory; but only declareth to the whole Church, who are they that haue; and enioy it in heauen: in so much, that there is

S. Anton. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 5. §. 5.

Whether Saints be subiect to the Pope.

Canonization is not Deification.

no prohibition to esteeme and worship priuatly, such as wee haue reason to think to be Saynts, before their canonizatiõ; only publike honours are to be deferred, vntil they be declared such by the Pope; to whom as to the chiefe Pastour the publike order and gouernment of the whole Church belongeth, so that those who liue, and not the Saynts, are subiect to the Pope in this action.

And thus much in effect might *M. Downam* haue learned of *S. Antoninus* himselfe in the place by him alledged; for there he declareth, that the canonization of Saynts is required for three causes. 1. for the approbation of their sanctity. 2. for the veneration of that, which is already receiued, and 3. for the confirmation of the Churches fayth in asking their intercession. And thus much shal suffice for the first: if any be desirous to se more, let them haue recourse to *Bellarmine*, and other authours, which he mentioneth. For the disproofe of the second I thinke it not amisse to recite the very order, which the Pope obserueth in this action. Thus then it is related in the booke of ceremonies, which *M. Downam* alledgeth a litle before: *After that, fame increasing of the excellency of lyfe, opinion of sanctity, and light of Miracles, the Pope hath bin often informed thereof by Kings, Princes, or people, and requested that he will decree, that some one, who is departed out of this life, is to be written in the Catalogue of Saints, and reuerenced as a Saynt; hauing treated thereof maturely with his brethren, if he shall thinke it fitt to proceed to inquisition, let him commit to some Prelates in those partes, where he who is treated of, led his life, and lieth dead, that they may diligently informe themselues, and watchfully enquire of the same, opinion, and deuotion of people towards him: which inquisition they must make in generall, and without iuridicall examination of witnesses, and relate faythfully to the Pope by their letters, what they haue found. In the meane tyme by the Commissaries relation the Pope proposeth all to the sacred Colledge, and deliberateth with them, whether the things related be worthy inough to be further enquired of; and if it seemeth good, lett it be committed to the same or other Prelates, that they enquire most diligently of the truth of the matter, examine witnesses, and search all which shall be conuenient for the finding out of the truth. And to these Commissaries there must be articles and*

Bell. l. 1. de Sanct. beat. c. 7. 8. 9. & 10.

Lib. 1. Cerim. sect. 6. cap. 1. How the Pope proceedeth in the canonizatiõ of Saynts.

and interrogatories ſent vnder an Apoſtolicall Bull, with which they muſt examine witneſſes of the excellency and holynesſe of life, of the purity of faith, of the working of Miracles; and they muſt be commanded to ſend the depoſitions of witneſſes, and all things faithfully to the Court by their letters ſigned with their ſeales; which being receiued let the Pope commit them to be examined to ſome Auditors of the ſacred Pallace, who muſt ſee and ordeyne the proceſſe, and conſider whether the inquiſition, and probation be lawfull, and ſufficiently done. Afterward if they haue related, that the matter is well prepared, let the Pope by the counſell of his brethren commit it againe to three Cardinalls, a Biſhop, a Prieſt, and a Deacon, who ſhall diligently examine the inquiſition, probation, and depoſition of witneſſes, and conſider moſt watchfully all things, which are to be conſidered. And when it ſhall pleaſe our moſt holy Lord, they ſhall giue relation in a ſecret Conſiſtory. And firſt of the excellency of life, and purity of fayth, which if they ſeeme well proued to the Colledge, and worthy of ſanctification, then they ſhall proceed to the narration and probation of Miracles, and with the conſent of the Cardinalls, the Pope ſhall end the life and miracles, which ſhalbe ſo ſufficiently proued. Afterward they ſhall deliberate, whether thoſe things, which haue bin proued ſeeme ſuch, for which the canonization is deſeruedly to be decreed.

Thus much there: neyther is this all, but diuers other meetings and conſultations are made, before the Pope commeth to the act it ſelfe of canonization, in which, as alſo before, much prayer is vſed by the Popes commandment, that he may not erre in a matter of this importance. And yet after all this diligence ſomtymes, as the ſame booke ſheweth, when the Pope was in a manner conſtreined to canonize any againſt his owne opinion, or of whome he was not ſo fully ſatisfyed, he hath vſed this proteſtation, that by the act of canonization he intended not to doe any thing, which might be againſt the Catholike fayth and Church, or the honour of God. In which caſe perhaps ſome authours might thinke, that vpon new information, the Pope might recall the former Canonizatiõ, becauſe it was not abſolute, but conditionall, & rather a permiſſion, then an approbation, as may be gathered out of the Popes proteſtation But yet euen in that caſe it is farre more certaine,

Whether the Pope may reuoke the canonization of a Saynt.

that the Pope neuer doth amisse in this publike act, which concerneth the publike practite of the whole Church: and therfore those authors (if there be any such) are rather to be vnderstood of some particuler Canonizations made by some Bishop in his particuler Dioceese, in which there is not so great certainty, and which no doubt the Pope may reuoke. That other assertion, *that of a damned person cast into hell, the Pope can make a Saint in heauen*, is a meere fiction. Neither doth M. *Downam* proue it otherwise, then by that example of *S. Gregory*, who is said by some to haue deliuered by his prayer *Traian* the Emperour out of hell, for which in this place M. *Downam* quoteth *S. Antonine*. But he only alledgeth *Augustinus de Ancona* for it, and answereth himselfe, *that it was beside, or aboue common law*, and consequently he is farre from attributing the like power to all Popes. I might also adde, that M. *Downam* cannot be ignorant, that Catholikes thinke not themselues bound to giue credit to that history of *Traian*, but rather vtterly to reiect it; as those two most learned Cardinalls of our age, and diuers others haue conuinced at large.

S. Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 5. §. 6. Baron. an. 604 Bellar. lib. 2. de purgat. cap. 8.

Concerning the Crosse, M. *Downam* writeth thus: *The Crosse which they say is to be worshiped with diuine worship, is notwithstãding made an esigne of the Popes authority, & is borne before him, as the Mace before the magistrate, or the sword before the Prince, and when their procession is at an end, it is layd vnder his feet.* Thus he, where he seemeth to contradict himselfe, for if all Catholikes hold that the Crosse is to be worshiped with diuine worship, it is certayne, that the Pope is not exalted aboue it, since none attribute that worship to him. But M. *Downam* was loth to let passe any thing, that might seeme any way odious. And yet he could not chuse but know, what *Bellarmine* hath written concerning the worship of the true Crosse, as well as of the Images thereof; shewing that vnproperly and *per accidens* only, they can be adored with diuine worship; but properly and *per se*, the worship due to them is an vnperfect, and inferiour worship. Now then that the Pope as well as others doth thus adore the Crosse, appeareth by daily

See Bellar. lib. 2. de imag. sanct. c. 20. & sequent.

expe-

experience, and is recorded alſo in the booke of ceremonies; where the Pope as well as the reſt is ſaid to kneele downe, when the Prieſt diſcouereth the Croſſe on good Friday: and afterward alſo he goeth to adore it, as others doe, kneeling thrice and praying before he commeth to it, and kiſſeth it. *lib. 2. Cerē. ſect. 2. c. 31.*

By which it appeareth ſufficiently, that the Croſſe is not borne before him, to ſignify any preheminence, which the Pope hath aboue it, but rather to declare, that he glorieth only in it, and that he acknowledgeth all his dignity and authority to proceed from it. Surely when *Conſtantine* the great changed his *Labarum* into a Croſſe, it was not to ſignifie, that he exalted himſelfe aboue it, but to ſhew his deuotion and reuerence therevnto, and that he might now ioyne himſelfe with his ſouldiars in adoring that glorious enſigne. And by this the Reader will eaſily conceiue, how incredible a tale it is, which *M. Downam* telleth vs at the laſt, that when the proceſſion is at an end, the Croſſe is laid vnder the Popes feet; I meruaile what conceit *M. Downam* hath of his Readers, ſince that he can perſwade himſelfe, that they will belieue him in ſuch ſtrange aſſertions, without any proofe at all. If he hath any, let him produce them, for certeynly I could neuer heare nor read any thing, that might breed the leaſt ſuſpicion of this report.

Whether the Pope ſitteth aboue the Altar.

But *M. Downam* goeth forward thus: *And that he may be knowne euen literally ſo to ſit in the materiall temple, as if he were a God, it is to be noted that his ſeat in the Church is aboue the Altar.* How willingly would *M. Downā* ſay ſomthing, if he knew what. This deuiſe of the Popes ſitting aboue the Altar, cānot ſerue for any thing els but to diſcouer his want of argumēts, togeather with his great malice. Did he or any other euer ſee the Pope ſit aboue the Altar? That he vſeth to ſit on the one ſide of the Chappell beneath the Altar, and ſometymes directly before it, according to the diſpoſition of the place: is well knowne to thoſe, who haue ſeene him at Maſſe; but how he can be ſaid to ſit aboue the Altar, ſurely I cannot imagine. Let *M. Downam* declare

neſſe and malice, that wee may anſwere him directly, if he hath any thing to ſay, which deſerueth anſwere. In the meane tyme the Reader may informe himſelfe out of the booke of Ceremonies, that the Pope kneeleth and prayeth before the Altar, as others doe, and when he riſeth from his prayer, goeth not way without making his reuerence to the Altar. But I would deſire the Reader to note here M. *Downams* forwardeſſe, to imbrace the literall expoſition of Antichriſts ſitting in the materiall temple, when he may ſeeme to haue the leaſt colour to apply it to the Pope; for by this he ſhall perceiue, that the chiefeſt ground of all his expoſitions either of this or of any other place concerning Antichriſt, is his extreme malice againſt the Pope; which draweth him to wreſt the ſcriptures to his impious purpoſe, how plaine and euident ſoeuer they be to the contrary. Such is the force of a preiudicate mind cõceined, out of ſuch wicked motiues, eſpecially the Diuell euer aſiſting and impelling it forward.

lib. 3. cerē. ſect. 1. c. 1. & alibi.

Whether the Pope exalteth himſelfe aboue the B. Sacrament.

Finally M. *Downam* concludeth with the Bleſſed Sacrament, aboue which that the Pope exalteth himſelfe, he proueth firſt, by that wicked ſlaunder of *Gregory* the 7. which he obiected before, alledging no author for it in neither place, and therefore wee haue no more reaſon to beleeue it, then that M. *Downam* liued ſo many yeares agoe, and was ſo priuy to this Popes proceedings, that he might be an eye witneſſe to this fact; wherfore omitting this, let vs come to that which he relateth out of that *Ioannes Moulucius* Biſhop of *Valence*, who was the Frence Kinges Embaſſadour at *Rome*, and others; *that when the Pope is to trauell abroad, three or 4. dayes before he ſendeth the Euchariſt (that is Chriſt their maker) an horſebacke accompanied with Mulitiers, and horſe keepers, and Courtiſants, and Cookes, with Sumpter horſes, and all the baggage of his Court. Afterward the Pope, who profeſſeth himſelfe his vicar followeth, attended with Cardinalls, Primats, Biſhops, & Potetats. And when he commeth neere to the place, whither he trauayleth, their Chriſt is brought to meet him on the way, that it may be carried before him into the towne. But with what difference of honour is he and his attendant carried in ſuch ſolemne proceſſi-*

Cap. 4. n. 8.

lib. de Religione ad Reginam matrem.

processions? The Pope either rideth on a goodly white horse vnder a stately Canopy, or els is caried aloft vpon noble mens shoulders in a chayre of gold, when the Christ of the Papists, the Popes attendant, is carried vpon a simple Hackney in comparison, with no such magnificence, and yet that Hackney is the Popes vicar appointed in his steed to carry the Monstrance.

Thus M. *Downam* as maliciously as may be. But if wee examine the truth out of other authors, who knew what passed as well, as those which M. *Downam* alledgeth; wee shall finde the matter to be farre otherwise. For first for the thing it selfe, it is well knowen, that in ancient tymes meaner men then the Pope, were wont to carry the Blessed Sacrament with them in their iourneyes. And for the manner, if it be truly related, it is most decent. To goe no further then to the booke of Ceremonies, wee find in it, that when the Pope is to take a iourney, he goeth not accompayned ordinarily with more then 3. Cardinalls; the rest, if any goe to the same place, set out before the Pope; who when he is ready to depart, first sayeth some prayers, which are there set downe. *After which (sayth the booke) he beginneth his iorurney. Before the Pope there is alway caried a Crosse by the Apostolicall Subdeacon, and after the Crosse the body of Christ shall be carried vpon a white horse with a litle bell: before the horse shall goe the Clarke of the Chapell with a lanterne and light in it, and after him the Sacristane with a white wand. And these shall euer be betwixt the Pope & the Crosse.* Where wee see all the fable of sending the B. Sacrament three dayes before with mulitiers &c. wholy controlled. Now for this white Horse, it is in another place sayd, that he must be *mansuetus* & *pulcher*, fayre & gentle, whereas in the same place there is no such care had of the Popes, which is only described by his colour, which is also white; and as for the canopy, it is expressely sayd in both places wher there is mention of any for the Pope, that there must be another for the Blessed Sacrament, for in the iourney it selfe, neither haue any.

lib. 2. cer. sect. 12. c. 4.

How the B. Sacrament is caried, when the Pope maketh any iourney.

ibid. cap. 1.

ibid. c. 1. & 5.

Finally the Popes chaire is not of so pure and beaten gold as the *Custodie* for the Blessed Sacrament is; and many tymes when the Pope is carried in his chaire, he

he carrieth the Blessed Sacrament himselfe. And M. *Downam* might haue noted, that the Blessed Sacrament is accompayned with lightes, in signification of his diuinity, which the Pope is not; and this had bin most of all to the purpose, and plainly conuinceth that the Pope acknowledgeth himselfe farre inferiour, yea to be altogeather deuoid of any such dignity: which might also be confirmed, by the adoration, which the Pope vseth to the Blessed Sacrament, as is euident. But this is the darknesse & blindnesse of malice, that it cānot, or at least will not see any thing, in fauour of the party maligned, though it be as clear as the light it selfe. That which is added out of *Stapleton* of the Popes being *supremum numen in terris*, is not worth the mentioning, since that it is manifest, that he speaketh of mortall men, placed in authority in this world, among which it is most true, that the Pope is the chiefest.

Staplet. in Epist. dedicat. ante princip. doctrine.

6. M. *Downam* goeth forward in his proofes; saying that the Pope of his *followers and flatterers is sayd to be all, and aboue all, the cause of causes, and the first cause*: for which he citeth diuers Canonists; but as it is manifest by the texts which they explicate, and the matter which they treat of, they only speake of Ecclesiasticall affayres, and affirme, that in them vnder God, the Pope is the chiefest cause, which is most certayne and manifest: in which sense also *Baldus* calleth him, *Numen quoddam, visibilem quendam Deum præ se ferens*, a certayne Maiesty (for the (*diuine*) which M. *Downam* addeth, is his owne) shewing or representing a certaine visible God; and not shewing himselfe to be so, as M. *Downam*, translateth it. Now how far this is from that, which *S. Paul* writeth of Antichrist 2. *Thess.* 2. hath bin already declared, whatsoeuer M. *Downam* or *Beza* sayth to the contrary. In like manner speake those other Canonists, who name him, *Terrenus Deus*, or *Deus in terris*, a God vpon earth, and *Christophorus Marcellus* in his oration to Pope *Iulius* the second, when he sayd to the Pope, *Tues alter Deus in terris, thou art another God vpon earth*; and the verses to *Sixtus* 4. say no more. In all which M. *Downam* might easily see, how they adde some limita-

How the Pope is sometymes called God.

See part. 1. c. 13.

In Concill. Later.

limitation or other, which declareth, that they speake reseruedly, and only meane, yea manifestly expresse, that this name of God may only be imparted to the Pope in such manner as *M. Downam* acknowledgeth in the beginning of this Chapter, that it is communicated to other Princes and Magistrates on earth, who are all farre inferiour to him in spirituall iurisdiction, and not many aboue him in temporall.

And if I would loose so much labour, I might easily shew out of their whole discourses, that they doe not so much extoll the Pope in respect of his place, as teach him his duety in respect of his person. Let any read the oration of *Marcellus*, and he shall see that nothing els is treated in it, but the office of a good Prince, and that in the latter end, where he hath the foresaid words, he turneth his speach to the Pope, giuing him many good admonitions, exhortations, and aduises, for the conseruation and increase of all vertues in those, who were committed to his charge. But let vs heare, what *M. Downam* hath more to say. *The Canonists* (sayth he) *call him our Lord God the Pope:* for which notwithstanding he citeth no particuler place, but only affirmeth, that they doe so, not only in diuers old editions (and yet he only quoteth that of 1555. *Impress. Lugdun.*) but also in that new edition, which by the authority of Pope *Gregory* 13. was corrected and published; by which manner of citation he may make the simple Reader believe, that all Canonists agree in this; whereas he knew well inough, that it was only one, and he neyther very ancient nor of great authority: and besides as that diligent *Gratian* hath found out, it is only the fault of the printer, as appeareth by diuers true copies, and the originall it selfe. But *M. Downam* not content with this, alledgeth vs two authors, who affirme, *that the Pope seeketh to be feared, and is also more then God.* By which exaggerations you may easily imagine, in what forge these speaches were framed; *Auentine* and *Iewell* are the relatours, the former attributing his assertion to an angry Emperour, and the other his to a Cardinall, who at least seemeth to haue bin not a litle discontented: so

Andreas Eudemon Ioan. Apol. pro Henr. Garnet. c. 5. §. 6. p. 137. & seq.

that though these were the true authors indeed, and not rather the relators themselues, they must needes be of very litle force with any discreet and indifferent Reader.

But what shall we say to that, which followeth, for M. *Downam* will alledge the Popes themselues? And first he bringeth *Gregory* 9. affirming, that those things, which he doth, be done by diuine power. The answere to this must be, to set downe the Popes owne words. He then to proue, that the Pope may transferre a Bishop from one Sea to another, writeth thus: *Non enim homo, sed Deus separat, quos Romanus Pontifex (qui non puri hominis, sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terris) Ecclesiarum necessitate, vel vtilitate pensata, non humana sed diuina potius authoritate dissoluit; for not man, but God separateth those, whom the Pope (who is the vicegerent vpon earth, not of any man only, but of the true God) considering the necessity, or vtility of Churches, doth part, not by humane, but rather by diuine authority*: and the very same in effect is repeated in the other Chapter, which M. *Downam* quoteth; where first we see, that the Pope doth not absolutely affirme, that those things, which he doth, be done by a diuine power, but that they are rather done by diuine, then humane power; of which he also assigneth the reason, because he doth them not, as he is a man, but as he is the vice-gerent of the true God; so that here is no difficulty at all, but a most manifest and approued truth; yea by this we may vnderstand, in what sort the Canonists, or any other doe sometyme name the Pope God vpon earth, that is, as Diuines would call it, *representatiuè*, in so much as he representeth Christ, who is truly God, whose vicegerent he is, and from whom immediatly he receiueth all his authority. The next Pope, whose testimony M. *Downã* produceth is *Innocentius* 3. who vseth these wordes, *vt nostrum prodeat de Dei vultu iudicium, that our iudgment may proceed from the face of God*.

De trãslat. Episc. c. Quanto. & c. Inter corporalia.

De Eccles. bener. c. Vt nostrum. Psal 16.

Downam mistaketh his Authors.

But here M. *Downam* knoweth not what he saith; for this charge falleth vpon the Prophet *Dauid*, whose words they are, for thus he writeth guided by the holy Ghost: *De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat, oculi tui videant equitates*; and that the Pope both alluded to this place,

and

and ſpake in a very good ſenſe, is manifeſt by that which followeth, for preſently after the words alledged: *vt noſtrum prodeat de vultu Dei iudicium*, he addeth; *& oculi noſtri videant æquitatem, quia Regia via debemus incedere, nec ad ſiniſtram omnino, nec ad dexteram declinare, ita magnum iudicantes vt parum, quia non eſt apud Deum acceptio perſonarum, &c.* That our iudgment may proceed from the *face of God, and our eyes may ſee equity, becauſe we muſt goe in the Kings high way, nor decline at all, eyther to the left hand, or to the right, iudging as well the great as the litle, becauſe there is no acception of perſons before God,* &c. Now what is there to be blamed here? Is it not fitting, that all our actions ſhould be done in the preſence, and by the helpe and aſſiſtance of God, that they may be truly vertuous and perfect? well let vs forgiue *M. Downam* this ouer-ſight; he leaped againſt the Pope, as ſoone as he looked vpon thoſe firſt words, without conſidering that they were taken out of the Scripture, or how the Pope did explane his meaning by that, which followed.

The next obiection is; *That Peter, and conſequently his ſucceſſour the Pope (for to that purpoſe it is alledged) is aſſumed into the fellowship of the vndeuided vnity*; for this he quoteth. Bonifac. in 8. de elect. and c. fundamenta in ſexto. In the former of which, I can find nothing to the purpoſe; for I make no doubt, but he meaneth Bonifac. 8. de elect. without that (*in*) and in that place there is nothing, but a Decree, that neyther Biſhops or others, ſhalbe receiued without letters; and the Pope beginneth thus, *Iniunctæ nobis debitum ſeruitutis expoſcit* &c. The duety of the ſeruitude inioyned vpon vs doth require &c. Where you ſee no great exaltation of himſelfe. In the other place the ſenſe of thoſe words is to be found, but as M. *Downam* may learne now of ſuch a maſter, as is well able to teach him, and he needeth not be aſhamed to learne of Pope *Nicolas* 3. whom he alledgeth rooke it from Pope *Leo* the great, who is both very ancient, and of greate authority, and both their meanings only is, that our Sauiour aſſumed no other, but *S. Peter* and his ſucceſſours, to gouerne the whole Church, as his vice-gerents. But now *M. Downam* will

See his Maieſtyes Apology for the Oath.

will conuince vs, for thus he writeth: *In one place he (the Pope) not only affirmeth, but by testimony also confirmeth that he is God. Satis euidenter (saith he) ostenditur, à seculari potestate nec ligari prorsus, nec solui posse Pontificem, quem constat à pio Principe Constantino Deum appellatum, nec posse Deum ab hominibus iudicari manifestum est: where the Pope proueth, he cannot be iudged by any secular power by this reason: God cannot be iudged of men: the Pope is God, therefore the Pope may not be iudged of men. The assumption he approueth by the forged testimony of Constantine.*

dist. 96. c. Satis euidenter.

Thus he; where first we must examine this last clause, whether the testimony of *Constantine* which this Pope *Nicolas* vseth be forged or no, and if it be, not only he, but also *S. Gregory* the great, who vseth the same testimony, is deceiued, and *Ruffinus* must beare the blame of all, who setteth downe for *Constantins* words these which follow, vsed to certaine Priests, who appealed to his iudgement in their controuersies: *Deus vos constituit sacerdotes* (saith this great and Godly Emperour) *& potestatem dedit de nobis quoq; iudicandi. & ideo nos à vobis recte iudicamur: vos autem non potestis ab hominibus iudicari: propter quod Dei solius inter vos expectate iudicium; & vestra iurgia, quæcunq; sunt, ad illud diuinum referuentur examen: vos autem nobis à Deo dati estis Dij; & conueniens non est, vt homo iudicet Deos, sed ille solus de quo scriptum est: Deus stetit in synagoga Deorum, in medio autem Deos discernit. God hath ordeined you Priests, and hath giuen you power to iudge of vs also, and therefore we are rightly iudged by you: but you cannot be iudged by men: wherefore expect you the iudgment of God alone among you, and let your contentions, whatsoeuer they are, be reserued to that diuine examination. But you are giuen vs as Gods by God himselfe, and it is not conuenient, that a man should iudge Gods, but he alone, of whom it is written, God stood in the congregation of Gods, and discerneth the Gods in the middest of them.*

S. Greg. lib. 4. ep. 75. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 2.

Constantine the Great called all Priests Gods.

Thus *Ruffinus*, and though *Sozomenus* relateth not this speach so distinctly, yet in effect he saith as much; for he telleth vs, that *Constantine* answered those Priests, that those accusatiõs were to be iudged by God in the last iudgement: *mihi vero* (saith the Emperour) *non est fas, cum homo sim, eiusmodi causarum cognitionem arrogare, præsertim cum & qui accusant, & qui accusatur, sacerdotes sint. But it is not lawfull*

Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 16.

for

ſo me, being but a man, to arrogate to my ſelfe, the knowledge of ſuch cauſes, eſpecially ſince both the accuſers, and the accuſed be Prieſts. By all which it is manifeſt, that this holy Emperour thought it vnlawfull for him to iudge any Prieſt, or Biſhop whatſoeuer, and that he eſteemed it no blaſphemy to call them all Gods. Now then I hope M. *Downam* will giue the Pope good leaue, to enioy the ſame priuiledges, and appellations, which are cõmon to all Prieſts and Biſhops, of which in like manner the Pope ſpeaketh in general, in the place obiected, & not of himſelfe in particuler; neyther will he eaſily find any ſufficient ground for any ſecular or temporall Prince to arrogate to himſelfe that, which *Conſtantine* held inconuenient, vnlawfull and impoſſible for him to doe. And therefore now wee need not feare that ſpitefull and malicious cenſure of that ſchiſmaticall Biſhop, or rather of hereticall *Auentin*, that the Pope is Antichriſt, in whoſe forehead this name of blaſphemy is written, *Deus ſum, errare non poſſum, I am God, I cãnot erre*; for how he may be called God without any Blaſphemy, hath bin declared, and the ſame may very eaſily be done of his not erring vpon any good occaſion. Now it is ſufficient to ſay in a word, that he cannot erre in matters belonging to fayth and manners, which he propoſeth definitiuely, as Chriſts vicegerent, to be beleeued and practiſed through the whole vniuerſall Church. And when M. *Downam* taketh vpon him to impugne this, he ſhalbe anſwered.

How the Pope cannot erre.

7. Now M. *Downam* will ſhew vs, how the Pope ſeeketh to match Chriſt. In which diſcourſe he beginneth thus: *In Chriſt we conſider his natures and his offices. As touching his nature, the Pope, if you will beleeue their blaſphemies,* æquè ac Chriſtus Deus eſt, eius ſecundæ intentionis, cõpoſitum ex Deo & homine. *As well as Chriſt he is God, a being of the ſecõd intẽtiõ, cõpoũded of God & man*; for this he citeth *extrauag. in Ioan.* 22. by which what he meaneth I know not, but there be many Decretals, which are called *Extrauagãts* of that Pope, among which I can find no ſuch matter, and the very citation it ſelfe ſheweth, that M. *Downam* did not read it there himſelfe, but ſeemeth to be a collection of

Whether the Pope matcheth himſelfe with Chriſt in the nature of diuinity.

some gibing Minister, who knew not what he sayd. And howsoeuer it be, sure I am, that neyther the Pope, nor any Catholike mainteyneth any such assertion: and vnderstanding it of the nature of Christ, and of the Pope, it is a most grosse and absurd heresy; though indeed the very words which follow, doe shew, that it was not spoken in that sense, for that *ens secunda intentionis*, cannot signify any such matter: so that this composition of God and man, as it is attributed to the Pope, cannot be any reall composition of natures, but only a consideration of his office at the most. But indeed the speach, as it lyeth, is obscure, and in a manner ridiculous, so that if it be of any good author, there must needes something go eyther before or after, to explane the words here recited.

But let vs heare what M. *Downam* sayth more; *As Christ* (sayth he) *in respect of the one nature is greater then man, & in regard of the other lesse then God, so they say of the Pope: Est quasi Deus in terris, maior homine, & minor Deo, plenitudinem obtinens potestatis. He is as it were a God vpon earth, greater then a man, and lesse then God hauing the fullnesse of power:* But in this speach of *Capistrã* which M. *Downã* quoteth, it is euident by the last words that he speaketh only of the Popes power, which no doubt maketh him greater then any other who is only a man, and yet is farre inferior to that of Christ, euen as he is man, and much more as he is God. And this is only the meaning of those, who name the Pope *stupor mundi*, the wonderment of the world, and of that verse also, *Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter vtrũq; : neyther God nor man, but a neuter betwixt both.* After these trifling obiections M. *Downam* will haue a litle sport with that appellation of the Pope, by which he is called, *his Holynesse*, for he noteth, that *his Holynesse, is himselfe*; but I marueile whom he imagined his Reader would conceiue it to be. Is any thing more cõmon, then to say his Maiesty, meaning the King, his Higness, of the Prince, his Grace, his Eccellency, his honour and his Lordship of other noble men.

But let vs goe forward, he sayth that the Pope by *Cuperi* is said to be *Deꝰ vindicta*, God of reuẽge: how the Canonists call him God I haue already explicated, though I must needes

needes confesse, that they should haue written more warily, and haue considered, that they might meet with such carping and captious aduersaries. As for that of reuenge, *Cupers* may defend himselfe with *S. Bernards* authority, who affirmeth, that the Pope, when he is chosen, hath a sword giuen him, *ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus, increpationes in populis, ad ligandos reges eorum in compedibus, & nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis*, and a litle after, *ad præsidendum principibus, ad imperandum Episcopis, ad regna & imperia disponenda. To take reuenge in Nations, to reprehend people, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their noble men in yron manacles, to gouerne Princes, to command Bishops, to dispose of Kingdomes and Empires.* Thus *S. Bernard*. Now let vs heare *M. Downam* agayne: he sayth that Catholikes affirme the Pope *to be true yea without errour, without possibility of erring*: which how farre it is affirmed, I explicated sufficiently a litle before, But now *M. Downam* will proue it for vs because *he cannot erre whose will must stand for reason, as if it were the rule of iustice*, and for proofe that the Popes will must doe so, he quoteth some Canonists; who since they speake conformably to the text, which they explicat, their meaning is only, that when the Pope denyeth to graunt priuiledges, his will is not to be curiously searched into, since that there is no obligatiō on his part to graunt such extraordinary graces: and yet they declare also that the Pope wanted not motiues for that which he did. But sayth *M. Downam*; *euen some of his frends say, that he often beateth vpon that of the Satyre*; Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas: *So I will, so I cōmand, let my will stand for reason:* and he quoteth for this friēd *Geroch. apud Auentin*. But God send *M. Downam* better frends in his greatest need, then *Auentine* was to the Pope, who makes both friends and enemies to speake against him. And yet *M. downam* inferreth vpon this, that *it were no better then sacriledge to call in question any of his doings*: for which he also citeth a glosse, and if it meant only such things, in which the Pope cannot erre, the glosse sayth true, and *M. Downam* will neuer be able to proue the contrary. But of this afterward; the text it selfe only affirmeth, that the Popes by their authority haue no more licēce to sinne, then

S. Bernard ep. 236.

How reueng belōgeth to the Pope.

Clemēt. lib. 3. tit. 23. c. 1. gloss. in verb. Volumus. de transl. Episc. c. Quanto. in gloss.

See c. 6. nu. 12.

dist. 4. c. Non nos in gloss.

See c. 6. nu. 12.

then other men, but rather lesse; though their dignity is great howsoeuer.

Now M. *Downam* cõmeth to treate of the Popes power; *for which* (sayth he) *whether you vnderstand* potestatem, *or* potentiam, *that is, authority or might, he would seeme to be infinit in respect of both, for infinit power is giuen vnto him*, and for this he quoteth lib. cerem. sect. 7. But there is not one word of the Popes infinit authority or might; but infinit might or power (*potentia*) is attributed to our Sauiour Christ, against the *Arian* heresy; by whome the Apostolicall Sea is also sayd to be established, who hath put to flight her aduersaries, to wit Heretykes and Tyrants; and finally it is also affirmed there, that the chiefe temporall power was giuen by Christ to the Pope his vicar vpon earth; which most probably is to be vnderstood indirectly only, according to the opinion of the most and learnedest Catholike deuines. But M. *Downam* must find out more then all this (which notwithstanding I am perswaded he cannot doe) or els it is euident, that he hath committed a very fowle falsification: yet he goeth on quoting *Cupers*, and a glosse, for saying, that, *if vnto Christ was giuen all power in heauen and in earth, then the Pope, who is his vicar, hath the same power*. But M. *Downam* cannot be ignorant, that their meaning is only so farre, as is necessary for performing his office, of visibly gouerning the Church vnder Christ; in which sense that argument from Christs power to the Popes, is of force, since ther can be no question, but that his infinit goodnes would prouide most aboundantly in this behalfe.

Downam misalledgeth his authors.

What power the Pope hath.

After he repeateth out of *Baldus* part of that, which he sayd before: that the *Pope is the cause of causes, of whose power none must enquire, seeing of the first cause there is no cause*, where there can be no doubt, but as I sayd before, the Pope vnder Christ, is the first cause, and the cause of causes, and without any other cause, in spirituall and Ecclesiasticall affaires, and none must enquire of this his power, calling it into doubt and question in generall; though in many particuler cases, none can be ignorant, how much enquiry is made concerning the Popes power. And by this

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the truth of that, which followeth, appeareth, how, *to doubt of his power is no better then sacrilege*; which is also sayd before, but now M. *Downam* quoteth *L. sacrilegij c. de crim. sacrilegij*. which seemeth to be taken out of the ciuill law. After this come *Panormitanus*, and *Hostiensis*, affirming that, *excepto peccato potest quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus*, sinne excepted the Pope may (or can) doe all things as it were (or in a manner) which God may (or can) doe. By which these 2. authors endeauour to expresse the great authority, which they conceiued the Pope to haue in all things necessary for the Churches visible gouernment, and though they might haue expressed their mindes in other words, yet in substance they affirme no more then other authors commonly doe.

See the V V and Word nu. 1. c. 2. nu. 5. 6. 7. 8.

Finally *M. Downam* concludeth, affirming, that the *Pope can change the nature of things, yea of nothing he can make something, and of iniustice righteousnesse, for he hath the fulnesse of power*; for all this he quoteth only one glosse. And no doubt speaking of morall things, the Pope or any other lawfull Prince may doe all this; for they chãge the nature of thigs, when they put an obligation in that, which before was free, and in the same mãner they make of nothing something: as for example, when a Prince commandeth his subiects to forbeare from some sport, or the vse of some weapon, and the like; and they make of iniustice righteousnesse, when they should command a thing, which was before prohibited, as appereth in the same example; for in tyme of warre those weapons are not only permitted, but also exacted, which in tyme of peace were vnlawfull.

De trãslat. Episc. c. Quanto in glos.

In what sense the Pope is sayd to haue the fulnesse of power, hath bin often repeated, as also that all the power which he hath is giuen him by Christ, and subordinat to him, in repect of whome he is not sayd to haue the fulnesse of power, but in respect of Bishops and other Ecclesiasticall persons, whose iurisdiction is farre inferiour to his: by which it appereth how fondly all this hath bin brought by *M. Downam* to proue, that the Pope matcheth himselfe with Christ, especially in the nature of

his diuinity; of which no one of all these allegations can with any probability be vnderstood.

8. Now M. *Downam* commeth to the office of Christ, and affirmeth out of *Cardinall Bellarmine*, that the Pope *hath the same office, which Christ had, whiles he was on the earth*; But in what sense *Bellarmine* affirmeth it is euident out of his whole discourse in that Chapter; in which his intent and drift is to proue, that the Pope hath not any temporall iurisdiction directly *iure diuino*. This he proueth, because *Christ as man, whiles he liued vpon earth, neyther receiued, nor would haue any temporall dominion*; *but the Pope is Christs vicar, and representeth Christ vnto vs, in such manner as he was, whiles he liued here among vs, Ergo &c.* This *minor* or *assumptiō* he explicateth in the end of the Chapter, and sayth, that *the Pope hath that office, which Christ had, when he liued vpon earth among men, as other men: for* (sayth he) *wee cannot attribute to the Pope the offices, which Christ hath as God, or as he is an immortall and glorious man, but only those, which he had as a mortall man*; and he giueth the reason of this also: *because the Church consisting of men, needeth a visible head, and which liueth humano more, after the manner of men; therfore Christ, when he left liuing after the manner of men, that is after his resurrection, left Peter in his place, who should exhibit vnto vs that visible & humane gouernmēt of Christ, which the Church had before Christs passion, as is manifest out of those words, Ioan. 20. As my Father sent me, I also send you.* Finally to exclude such Cauillers as M. *Downam*, he expressely addeth: *that the Pope hath not all that power wholy, which Christ had as a mortall man; for he, because he was God & man, had a certayne power, which they cal of excellency, by which he ruled both the faythfull, and Infidels also, but he only committed his sheep, that is the faithfull, to the Pope. Besides Christ could institute Sacraments, and doe miracles with his owne authority, which the Pope cannot doe. In like manner he could absolue from sinnes without Sacraments, which the Pope cannot; wherefore he only communicated that power to the Pope, which might be communicated to one, who is no more then man, and which was necessary to gouerne the faithfull in such sort, that they might without impediment obteine euerlasting life.*

Whether the Pope matcheth himselfe with Christ in his office. Bellar. l. 5. de Rom. Pōtif. c. 4.

What power the Pope hath.

Thus *Bellarmine*; whom I haue alledged thus at large, not only to satisfy the Reader, cōcerning this obiection,

ction, for this might haue bin done in a word, but that he might be fully informed of the Catholike doctrin touching the Popes authority, which *M. Downem* seeketh so much to calumniate, and withall; that he might by this example learne, with what fidelity *M. Downam* citeth other authors, which are not so easily to be had, and cannot without too much prolixity be thus particulerly examined by rehearsing their discourses & words. Now then let vs goe forward; for *M. Downam* telleth vs, that though the Pope hath the same office which Christ had while he was on the earth, as you haue heard, yet *ther is great oddes in their outward estates; for it is not fit that the Pope should resemble Christ, who now is glorified in heauen, as he was contemned, but as the pastor of the whole world, supernaturall & heauenly, & as he shall come to be our iudge, to whom it is certeyne, that all men of necessity must obey: for it is euident, that the work of redemption being accomplished the power of Christ was extended as well in heauen as in earth, Mat. 28. All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in earth; which power is translated vnto his vicar* &c. for this he quoteth *R. Capers*, who may be explicated in this sense, that as Christ is exalted, so is likewise his Church by the merit of his death and passion, and consequently it cannot be expected, that his vicegerent vpon earth should be contemned by the faythfull, as our Sauiour was by the incredulous Iewes; but rather reuerenced & honored by them according to that estate wherein our Sauiour is at this present, and ought to haue bin while he was vpon earth also: all which no doubt is most true, as likewise that the exercise of our Sauiours power is extended more now, then before his passion, by reason of the conuersion of so many nations, and the administration of this power, in so much as belongeth to the visible gouernment of the whole Church, is vnder Christ committed to *S. Peter*, and his successours.

The Pope ought not to be contemned by the faythfull, because Christ was crucified by the Iewes.

M. Downams next obiction is taken out of *Bellarmine* and others, that the Pope *in respect of his office is the foundation, the head, the husband, the Lord of the vniuersall Church*. And indeed in the places which he alledgeth out of *Bellarmine*, many great titles are proued to belonge to the Pope, as first that of steward, and housholder, which he proueth

Bellarm. de cõcil. l. 2. c. 17. & de pont. Rom. l. 1. c. 13. The Popes titles.

out of *Luc*. 12. and the exposition of the Fathers; the second of pastour, *Ioan*. 20. the 3. of head of the Church, ex *Concil. Chalcedonens. act*. 3. & *Epist Concil. ad Leon*. 4. of husband and spouse *ex Concil. general. Lugdun*. Thus much in the former place. In the latter he hath many more, for first he sheweth that the Pope only is absolutly without any addition called *Papa* (which signifyeth Father) by the ancient Fathers, and that of the whole Church; so that all euen generall Councells call him so, whereas he calleth all other children or brethren. Secondly that he only is called *Pater Patrum*. 3. *Pontifex Christianorum*. 4. *summus Pontifex*, or *Sacerdos*. 5. *Princeps Sacerdotum*. 6. *Vicarius Christi*. 7. *Caput Ecclesiæ*. 8. *Fundamentum*. 9. *Pastor ouilis Dominici*. 10. *Rector domus Dei*. 11. *Custos Vineæ*. 12. *Pater & Doctor omnium Christianorum*. 13. *Sponsus Ecclesiæ*. 14. *Apostolicæ Sedis Præsul*. for explication of which he also noteth, that the Pope is absolutly so called, and he is also sayd to haue *Principatum Apostolicæ Sedis*: and his function and office is called *Apostolatus*. 15. he is called *Episcopus vniuersalis*. Wherefore wee willingly graunt, that all these titles belong to the Pope, and yet he is far from matching Christ in his office; because the Pope is vnder and subordinate to Christ, to whom these titles chiefly belonge, and only ministerially to the Pope, as he is compared to Christ. But among all these titles which *Bellarmine* alledgeth, I find not that, of being Lord of the vniuersall Church, as neyther in *Bonifac*. 8. who only in the place quoted calleth the Church his spouse; nor in *Turrecr*. If *Cupers*, *Panormitan*, or any other haue it, they mean it all way with subiection, and subordination to Christ, and as that name of *Dominus*, or *Lord* may be applyed to all lawfull superiours.

Bonifac. 8. c. *Quoniã de immunit. in* 6.

That which followeth of *Christus Domini*, taken by *M. Downam* out of *Cupers*, hath no difficulty at all, since that it is manifest, that this title is applied to many other besydes our Sauiour, and I hope *M. Downam* will admit the Pope, as well as others, since he hath at least as much reason for it as any other. But now *M. Downam* quoteth many places of Scriptures to proue, that Christ alone is the heade of the Catholike Church, and so of the

the reſt which we muſt briefly examine, before wee come to the anſwere, which he likewiſe affirmeth to be made by Catholikes. The firſt place which he quoteth is *Eph.* 1.21.22. where Chriſt is ſayd to be the *head* of the Church, which no man denyeth, but there is no word, by which the Pope may ſeeme to be excluded, and the very ſame wee find in the ſecond place which is in the 4. Chapter 15. v. for there Chriſt is only in one word ſayd to be the *head*; neyther is any thing added more *Eph.* 5. 23. In the fourth place *Coloſſ.* 1. 28, there is not ſo much, for there is no mention of Chriſts being the head of the Church, but that *wee muſt be perfect in him*. This is all which *M. Downam* bringeth to proue Chriſt to be the only head of the Church, by which notwithſtãding as neyther God is excluded ſo, who is aboue Chriſt, as he is man, neyther the Pope, who is vnder him, though it be alſo moſt true, that Chriſt is the only head of the Church in his degree, which is without compariſon more excellent then that of the Pope, who is only his Vicar and Miniſter, in the viſible gouernment of the Church, as *Bellarmine* explicated a litle before. For the reſt M. *Downam* quoteth firſt, *Eph.* 5. 24. where the Church is ſayd to be *in ſubiection* to Chriſt, but this rather argueth the contrary, for this could not be, if ſhee were not alſo in ſubiection to her chief Paſtour, whom Chriſt hath appointed to ſupply his viſible abſence.

Ephes. 1. 4. 5.

Coloſſ. 1.

Eph. 5.

The ſecond place is *Ioan.* 3. v. 29. where. S Iohn Baptiſt ſayth, that *Chriſt was the bridgrome*, and himſelfe his frend; but wee deny not, that Chriſt is the bridegrome ſtill, neyther doe wee affirme, that *S. Iohn* was ſo, for ſo lgõ as our Sauiour liued on earth he had no vicegerẽt ſince that he gouerned his Church viſibly himſelfe; neyther doth the title which wee giue to the Pope, derogate any thing from that of Chriſt; and the more frend, that the Pope is to Chriſt, the better he anſwereth to this other title, of ſpouſe of the Church alſo. The third place is 2. *Corin.* 11. v. 2. which indeed is moſt to the purpoſe, for there *S. Paul* ſayth, that he had *eſpouſed the Corinthians to one man, or husband*, that is to Chriſt. And this ſheweth very well

Ioan. 3.

2. *Corint.*

well, that Christ is the only principall spouse of the Church, and that the Pope and other pastours must not seek soules for themselues, but for Christ; notwithstãding this hindereth not, but that they ought to cooperate by their outward preaching and administration of Sacraments, that the Church may bring forth new children to Christ: for which cause euen the English annotations taken out of *Beza* obserue in this place, that *S. Paul speaketh as a wooer.*

The fourth and last place is 1. *Cor.* 3. v. 11. 12. wher *S. Paul* affirmeth, that *other foundation no man can lay, besides that which is layd, which is Christ Iesus.* By which it is also manifest, that Christ is the only principall, & chiefe foundation; but this hindereth not the application of this title to the Apostles, and chiefly to *S. Peter*; as is manifest *Eph.* 2. wher the same Apostle sayth, that the faithfull are *built vpon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Iesus Christ himselfe being the highest corner stone*: the like wee find also *Apoc.* 21. where the citty of the Church is sayd to haue 12. *foundations.* But let vs see what answere M. *Downam* bringeth out of Catholikes to this his obiection: first then, *answere is made* (saith he) *that Christ and the Pope in Church are* vnum & idem caput, *one and the same head, and doe make one and the same consistory: for it were a monstrous thing, that the Church shoud haue two heades.* And for this he quoteth *Cupers.* But what can he make of this, but that the Pope is no principall head as Christ is, but only subordinate to him, from whome he receiueth all his authority; euen as a vice-Roy doth from his King, who cãnot be sayd properly to be two heades, becausse they are not indepẽdãt the one of the other; for which cause also their tribunall & iudgemẽt is but one, & whatsoeuer the vice-Roy doth by the Kings authority, is most truly sayd to be done by the King himselfe. And therefore no meruaile though that learned *Cardinall Turrecremata* affirmeth, that *the iudgement of the Pope is reputed the iudgment of God, and his sentence, and his consistory, the consistory of God: and therefore Christ and the Pope are not properly two heades but one, as Boniface the eight declareth in Extrauag. c. Vnam sanctam.* And if all the wordes of this worthy author had

1. Corin. 3.

Eph. 2.

Apoc. 21.

had bin truly alledged, they would haue wholy taken away this obiection: for thus writeth the Cardinall; that speaking properly there are not two distinct heades, because the Pope is not altogeather another distinct head, from Christ; but he is his Vicar, representing his place, person, power, and authority on earth; after which follow the words alledged by *M. Downam*; and lastly the Cardinall concludeth with the reason of this whole doctrine; because (sayth he) *where one is for another, in both there is but one*: where wee may note by the way *M. Downams* ouersight, in making this obiection; for he laboureth to proue, that the Pope matcheth himselfe with Christ in office; & yet this obiection euidently conuinceth that the Pope acknowledgeth himselfe to be vnder Christ in his office, as being only his vicar or vice-gerent, as pope *Bonifac* also expressely affirmeth in the place alledged.

How Christ & the Pope are but one head.

Thus much of the Popes office in generall. Now *M. Downam* descendeth to particulers. And he beginneth with *Popery*, as he calleth it, for which he sayth that the *Pope is the vniuersall or Oecumenicall Bishop, and Pastor of Pastors, the ordinary Bishop of the whole world, who is come a light into the world, but men haue loued darknesse more then light, who hath the supreme authority of interpreting the Scriptures, who is the supreme iudge in controuersies of Religion, hauing an heauenly arbitrement, and as it were a diuine and infallible iudgment*: for all this he quoteth 5. authors, but assigneth not any particuler clause, to any one of them, more then to the rest; wherfore it will be sufficiēt to answere also in general, that all this is true, if it be rightly vnderstood, as it may easily be, by that which we haue said already vpon diuers occasions, and shall be inforced to repeat also hereafter; wherfore now let vs see what he hath more to say. He addeth that the Pope *is aboue generall Councells, for although in a generall Coūcell the vniuersall Church is represented, in so much as nothing is greater then the Councell; tamen Papa eidem omnimodo supereminet authoritate*: notwithstanding the Pope surpasseth the same in all maner authority: and some other things he bringeth to the same purpose, which I omit, not to weary my Reader.

The excellency of the Popes authority cōcerning doctrine.

How the Pope is aboue generall Coūcells.

Bellarm. l. 1. de Concil. c. 13. & seq.

But he should haue done well, to haue read what Cardinall

nall *Bellarmine* writeth of this question; for he sheweth most euidently that the Pope is aboue a generall Councel, if we speake properly of such a Councell as is not confirmed by the Pope; wherfore in all this discourse M. *Downam* doth nothing els, but bewray his owne folly by taking vpon him to proue the Pope to be Antichrist, and bringing only such arguments, as doe not only shew the contrary; but also conuince that he hath the most euident, excellent, and admirable authority, that euer any had vnder Christ. For wee speak not now of sanctity of lyfe, or the like, in which not only the Saynts, but many poore men and women haue surpassed many Popes; but of his authority and iurisdiction, in which none but Christ who is both God and man is aboue him.

Whether the Pope matcheth himselfe with Christ cõcerning doctrine.

9. I think the Reader wilbe tyred as well as I, with these extreme fooleries. But yet M. *Downam* goeth forward very grauely, telling vs, that the Pope taketh *vpon him to make new articles of fayth*: for which he quoteth no author, and no meruaile, for there is no such matter; he only proposeth and explicateth what is an article of fayth, when cause so requireth. The rest which he obiecteth in this place, are questions in controuersie betwixt vs and the Protestants, as whether there be 7. or only 2. Sacraments: whether the Eucharist is to be administred vnder both kinds; whether diuine traditions be of equall authority with the Scripture, in all which he supposeth, that the Pope erreth grieuously, and thereupon inferreth, that he matcheth himselfe with Christ, as he is a prophet; which truly is such an insulse and absurd manner of arguing, that I can but wonder, how M. *Downam* could induce himselfe to vse it. But to help out the matter he telleth vs two tales, out of *Iohn Bale*; the one of *Innocentius* 3. that he *commanded, that the words of the Canon of the masse, should be held equall with the words of the ghospell*; the other of Pope *Marcellus* 2. when he was legate in the Councell of *Trent*, that he should put out a Bishop for speaking against the decree concerning traditions.

Innocẽtius 3.

Marcellus 2.

To both which I will answere with silence, since *Iohn Bale* deserueth no more. M. *Downam* may if he please

see

ſee *Bellarmine lib. 2. de Concil. c. 12. in fine.* where he declareth how *S. Gregory* ſayd, that he did reuerence the fower firſt Councells, as he did the fower Goſpells: and in the ſame place he anſwereth alſo *M. Downams* obiection out of *Gratian*, ſhewing that he miſtook *S. Auguſtines* words, which are to be vnderſtood of Canonicall Scripture: and *M. Downam*, if he looked vpon the place, could not chuſe but ſee this error noted, and *S. Auguſtines* words truly related in the decree it ſelfe. And yet it followeth not from hence, that *Gratians* meaning was, to match the Popes decretall epiſtles with the diuine Scriptures, but only to affirme them to be Canonicall, as the reſt of the Canō law is, and this the learned *Cardinall* conuinceth manifeſtly out of *Gratian* himſelfe. The other Canon hath no difficulty, for ther is no queſtion but that the Pope hath the ſame authority, which *S. Peter* had, as he was his predeceſſour; to which the dignity of being a Canonicall writer doth not belong. Ther is alſo a litle fault committed in the tranſlation of this *Canon*, but I will pardon *M. Downam* a greater matter then that.

Diſt. 19. c. in Canonicis.

Diſt. 19. c. ſic omnes.

10. Thus *M. Downam* hath diſputed, that the Pope matcheth himſelfe with Chriſt in prophecy; now he will goe a degree further and proue, that the Pope in this reſpect, aduanceth himſelfe aboue Chriſt, and to this intent he maketh a long diſcourſe, that the Church, and conſequently the Pope are preferred before the Scriptures, for which he alledgeth many authors, who that they may be the better vnderſtood, I think it not amiſſe, to declare briefly out of *Bellarmine*, the difference betwixt the Scriptures, and confirmed Councells, which *à fortiori* is alſo to be vnderſtood of the Pope, out of Councells. Firſt then (*ſayth this worthy Cardinall*) the Scripture is the word of God immediatly reuealed, and written in a certaine manner out of Gods mouth, *diſtante Deo*, in ſuch ſort that he directed the writters, that they ſhould not erre any way. But the Councells only declare, which is the word of God written, or vnwritten, and how it is to be vnderſtood, and beſides out of it they deduce concluſions by diſcourſe. Therefore the Councells when they define which bookes

Whether the Pope aduãceth himſelfe aboue Chriſt cõcerning doctrine. *Bellarm. l. 2. de Cõcil. c. 12.*

The difference betwixt Scriptures & Councells

» are Canonicall & diuine, do not make them of infallible
» verity, but doe only declare them to be such. The second
» difference is that the sacred writers needed not to labour
» much in setting forth their bookes, because at the most
» they were to thinke vpon words, with which they
» might declare the things, which they knew before.
» But the fathers in Councells must seek the thing it selfe,
» that is, search out conclusions by disputing, reading, and
» thinking. The third difference is, that in the Scripture
» there can be no error, whether it treateth of fayth, or of
» manners, and whether ther be any generall thing affirmed,
» and common to the whole Church, or any particuler
» thing, & perteyning to one man alone. But the Councells
» may erre in particuler iudgmẽrs, & in the precepts of man-
» ners, which are not proposed to the whole Church, but
» only to one or two nations.

» The 4. difference is, that in the Scripture not only
» the sentences, but likewise all the words, and euery one
» of them do belong to fayth, for wee believe, that there
» is no word put in the Scripture in vayne, or not rightly:
» but in Councells the greate't part of the Acts belong not
» to fayth: for neyther the disputations which go before,
» nor the reasons which are added, not those things which
» are brought for explication and illustration, are of faith;
» but only the very decrees by themselnes, and not all those,
» but only such as are proposed as of fayth. And whena
» decree is proposed as of fayth, is it easily knowen by the
» wordes of the Councells, for they are alway wont to
» say, that they explicate the Catholike Faith: or that they
» are to be accounted heretikes, who thinke the contrary:
» or which is most comon, they say *Anathema*, and exclude
» out of the Church those who thinke the contrary. But
» when they say none of these, it is not certayne, that it is
» a matter of fayth. Finally in these very decrees of fayth,
» not the words but the sense only belong to fayth; for it
» is no heresy to say, that in the Canons of the Councells
» some word is superfluous, vnlesse perhaps the decree be
» formed of the word it selfe, as when they decreed in the
» *Nicen* Councell, that the word ὁμοούσιον is to be receiued, &

in

in the Epheſin Councell the word θεοτόκον: The 5. difference is, that the Scripture needeth not the Popes approbation to be authenticall, but only that the authority thereof may be knowen: but the Councells, euen thoſe which are lawfull and generall, are not firm, vnleſſe they beconfirmed by the Pope. »

Thus the *Cardinall*. Now let vs examine M. *Downams* obiections: firſt then he ſayth, that *Cardinall Cuſanus* entituleth his booke: *de authoritate Eccleſiæ & Concilij ſupra & contra Scripturam*: *Of the authority of the Church and Councell aboue, and againſt the Scripture*. But why doth he not tel vs where this booke is extant, for I cannot find it among his workes? certeinely if there be any ſuch, eyther this title was added by ſome aduerſary, or els the *Cardinall* wrote abſurdly; for though he might interpret himſelfe, to ſpeake only of the approbation, and expoſition of Scriptures, which were not certayne; yet the wordes were not vttered with any waryneſſe or diſcretion, and it had bin as eaſy for him to haue expreſſed that which he vnderſtood, as to haue giuen iuſt occaſion of ſuſpecting a bad meaning.

Next to this M. *Downam* alledgeth *Silueſter Pierias Maiſter of the Popes Pallace*, ſaying, *that Indulgences are warranted vnto vs, not by the authority of the Scripture, but by the authority of the Church, and Pope of Rome, which is greater*. But this author may be interpreted to meane only, that a decree, and definition of the Church and Pope is more certeyne, then a place of Scripture, which may admit many explications, when it is not knowen which of them is the true; for here is no compariſō made with the Scripture it ſelfe but with the expoſition thereof, which in this caſe were doubtefull.

After this followeth *Boniface the Archbiſhop of Mentz* whom M. *Downam* affirmeth to ſay, *That all men ſo reuerence the Apoſtolike Sea of Rome, that they rather deſire the ancient inſtitution of Chriſtian Religion from the Pope, then from the holy Scriptures*. And *this ſaying* (ſayth M. *Downam*) *the Pope hath ſo approued, that he hath cauſed it to be inſerted in the Canon law*. where firſt I might charge M. *Downam* not to haue dealt ſincer- *Diſt. 40. c. Si Papa.*

ly, because he leaueth out a clause, which helpeth to declare the other words: & it is, that all desyre *ab ore præcessoris eius nonnullam sanctorum canonum disciplinam, & antiquam &c.* from the mouth of that guid, some discipline or holy canons, and ancient &c. for this seemeth to insinuate, that *S. Bonifacius* only speaketh of discipline and institution, which belong to manners, and not of doctrine; which also his whole discourse declareth, shewing that all for the most part follow the Popes example, & exhortation, in their conuersation: and this also appeareth by that other assertion in the same place, that the Pope may not be iudged, vnlesse he be found erring in fayth; which is a signe, that *S. Bonifac* affirmed not, that he should be followed then. Likewise that *(nonnulla)* is a limitation, and may very well be referred to the ancient institution of Christian religion also.

Downam mistaketh his Authors.

Moreouer *S. Bonifac* added to the sacred writings, paternall traditions, which *M. Downam* omitteth, being loth, as it should seeme, to shew how *S. Bonifac* ioyneth traditions to the Scriptures, least the Pope should appeare to be more opposit to the one, then to the other; but what will *M. Downam* say, if *S. Bonifac* maketh no mention at all of the holy Scriptures, but only of other Sacred writings. Surely to me this seemeth very probable, especially because these two words *(à sacris paginis*, and *paternis traditionibus)* seeme to answere to those other two, which went before *(nonnullam sanctorum canonum disciplinam*, and *antiquam Christianæ Religionis institutionem)* and no doubt *M. Downam* will be loth to graunt, that the discipline of the Canons is taken out of the Scripture. Finally, what if wee did graunt, that Catholikes had rather haue euen their faith it selfe declared by the Pope, then to seek it themselues in Scriptures and traditions? Surely I see no inconuenience herein, though I take this sense to be far from *S. Bonifac* his intent in this place. Now then by this, that hath bin sayd it appeareth, that the Pope might very well haue inserted this saying into the canon law. But yet the truth is, that he hath not; and it is somwhat a grosse mistaking in *M. Downam*, since that both the difference of the

the print, and many other circumstances do euidently declare the contrary.

And besides as I haue shewed vpon another occasion concerning this very Chapter, not all, which is in the text, is to be attributed to the Pope, but only so much, as answereth to the title, and intent, for which it is alledged; but I will stay no longer in this. Now M. *Downam* will come to particulers, to proue that the Pope doth aduance himselfe aboue the Scriptures. 1. *Because he hath*, as Catholiks say, *that authority to adde to the Canonicall Scriptures other bookes that are not in the Canon, and that those which be in the Canon, haue their canonicall authority from him. In the 19 distinction Cap. si Romanorum. Pope Nicolas not only matcheth their decretall epistles with the holy Scriptures, but also affirmeth, that the Scriptures are therefore to be receiued, because the Pope hath iudged them* Canonicall.

See Chap. 4. nu. 10.

How the Church and Pope declare Scriptures to be canonicall.

That the Scriptures haue not their Canonicall authority from the Church or Pope, appeareth sufficiently by that, which hath bin alledged out of *Bellarmine*, only they declare to vs, which are canonicall, and which are not. The Canon also is mistaken, for Pope *Nicolas* only intendeth to proue, that the decretall epistles of Popes are to be receiued, though they be not inserted in the Canon Law, in proofe whereof he bringeth diuers arguments, whereof one is, that otherwise the Scriptures themselues might be reiected, because they are not wholy inserted. Against which proofe he maketh this obiection, which M. *Downam* alledgeth, that there is a Canon of *Innocentius* 3. which commandeth, that the Scripture shalbe receiued, though it be not wholly inserted. But Pope *Nicolas* by no meanes alloweth this reason, yea he reprehendeth them, who vse it, saying that *they are alway more ready to resist*, then to obey; though to leaue them no refuge, he sheweth also, that Pope *Leo*, and Pope *Gelasius* had decreed the same of all their predecessors Epistles decretall, whether they were inserted among the Canons or no. Neyther can M. *Downam* be so ignorant, but that he knoweth, that the Scriptures were receiued & authenticall long before the tyme of Pope *Innocentius* 3. And by

Dist. 19 c. Si Romanorum.

this it appeareth sufficiently in what sense *Sylvester Prierias* affirmed, that *the Scripture draweth strength, and authority from the Church, and Bishops of Rome*: and *Eckius*, *that the Scripture is not authenticall, but by the authority of the Church*, for it is manifest that they only speake *quoad*, that is, that wee should not certeinly know the Scriptures to be authenticall, if it were not for the authority of the Church.

Cõtra Lutherum, de Ecclesia.

That tale which *Chemnitius* telleth of some Catholikes comparing the Scriptures to *Aesops* fables, it not credible; for though wee know not certeinly whether it be canonicall or not, before it be receiued of the Church, yet it hath allway the testimonies of some ancient Fathers, and treateth of other matters, and in another mãner then *Aesops* fables. *Pighius*, when he affirmeth, that the authority of the Church is aboue the Scriptures, is not to be vnderstood absolutly, but only in this respect, that we come to know certeinly, that the Scriptures are authenticall by the Churches proposition; which is nothing els in effect, but that the Churches authority is commonly, *& per se*, better knowen vnto vs, then what Scripture is authenticall. From the approbation of Scriptures *M. Downam* commeth to their exposition; concerning which he sayth truly, that Catholikes teach, *that the Scriptures are to be vnderstood according to the interpretation of the Pope, and Church of Rome, and that sense which the Pope assigneth to the Scriptures must be taken for the vndoubted word of God*; in so much as *Herraeus* affirmeth, *that it is not lawfull to hold or thinke the contrary*, and *Hosius* addeth, *that though one neyther know nor vnderstand, whether, and how such an exposition agreeth with the words of the Scripture, notwithstanding he hath the very word of God*. All which is most true, and this last which seemeth most hard is euident out of the former assertions, if wee adde there vnto, that which *M. Downam* affirmeth in the beginning of this obiection, *that the Scriptures are not the words, and syllables, but the true sense and meaning thereof*; for this is supposed to be had by the Popes, and Churches exposition.

How the Church and Pope expound Scriptures.

de Potest. Pap. de expresso Dei verbo.

But here the Reader must note conformably to that, which *Bellarmine* declared; that not euery exposition of a

Pope

Pope is thus infallible and certeine, but only ſuch as are expreſly defyned; as will more plainely appeare in the obiection following: for *M. Downam* alledgeth *Cardinall Cuſanus* writing thus: *It is no meruaile though the practiſe of the Church expound the Scriptures at one tyme one way, and at another tyme another way; for the vnderſtanding or ſenſe of the Scripture runneth with the practiſe: and that ſenſe ſoe agreeing with the practiſe is the quickning ſpirit. And therefore the Scriptures follow the Church, but contrariwiſe the Church followeth not the Scriptures.* All which is true if it be rightly vnderſtood of probable expoſitions only, and in things indifferent; for in ſuch no doubt that which the Church practiſeth, is to be thought moſt fitting for that tyme and place &c. and conſequently to be gathered out of the Scriptures. And when the Churches practiſe doth alter and change, no queſtion the other part, being alſo good, may be inferred out of the ſame Scriptures. *ad Bohem. Ep. 17.*

And that this is the true ſenſe, and meaning of the *Cardinall* is apparent, becauſe he ſpeaketh of the diuers vſe of receiuing vnder one or both kindes, both which are lawfull, and in themſelues indifferent; ſo that the Church may at one tyme practiſe the one, and at another tyme the other. And thoſe who are to expound the Scripture, ought to expound it accordingly, and not voluntarily without any ground to adhere to the one part, as Proteſtants do. In the other place which *M. Downam* alledgeth out of the ſame *Cardinall*, he only affirmeth that, which hath bin before declared. *ad Bohem. Ep. 2.*

The other two ſpeaches which are related to haue byn ſpoken by the Maiſter of the Pope Pallace, and another *Cardinall* to the Embaſſadors of *Bohemia*, are auouhced without allegation of any author, & therfore deſerue no anſwere; but yet the former may ſpeake only of probable expoſitions in different things; the latter ſuppoſeth an impoſſibility, that the Pope may erre in defyning matters of fayth, and therefore as they ſay in the ſchooles, it is no meruiale, though one abſurdity being graunted, many do follow, but it is altogether vnpoſſible, that the Pope ſhould teach *ex Cathedra*, and definitiuely (for of this wee allway

allway speake, and not of bare thinking, as M. *Downam* rehearseth the *Cardinalls* words) that Christ is not very God and man; and therfor whosoeuer followeth the Popes doctrine, shall neuer fall into that heresy, nor any other errour.

Whether the Pope may dispense against the law of God, and nature.

11. Thirdly M. *Downam* telleth vs, that the Pope *may dispense against the law of nature*; for proofe wherof he citeth a glosse. To which I answer, that the glosse speaketh improperly; as the Deuines and Canonists teach with one consent, who all agree, that no humane power can dispense properly in the law of nature, or of God: for which cause they declare, that the Pope only remoueth the obligation of some human action or law, which being taken away, the law of nature prescribeth not, that it is any more to be kept; so that the Pope doth nothing in this matter against the law of nature, as the glosse very improperly sayd, but according to it, and *ex præscripto legis naturæ*.

See Valen. 1.2. disput. 7. q. 4 pũcto 6. & Azor. inst. moral. l. 6. c. 1. q. 4.

After this M. *Downam* telleth vs, *that the Pope dispensed with Henry the 8. to marry his sister in law, and with Philip the late King of Spayne, to marry his owne Neece*. But he neuer goeth about to proue, that either of these are vnlawfull, or to answere the arguments of Catholike authors, which conuince them to be lawfull; yea *VVickliffe* himself expressely affirmeth, that ther is no other reason, why marryages may not be at this day betwixt brother and sister, or any other (except only between parents and children) but humane ordination. And consequently in his opinion ther were no great difficulty in that, which M. *Downam* obiecteth next, that Pope *Martin* the 5. dispensed with a certayn brother that marryed his owne sister.

See Bell. l. 1. de matrim. c. 24. & seq. & Valent. in 3. p. disput. 10. q. 5. pũct. 3.

Io. VViclef in 4. l. Trialogi c. 20. apud Bell. ibid. c. 25.

But the truth is, that this is a great mistaking as hath byn largely proued of late by diuers authors against *Thomas Bell*; wherfor remitting the Reader to them, I will only set downe S. *Antoninus* his words *verbatim*, which are thes: *Reperitur Papa Martinus 5. dispensasse cum quodum, qui contraxerat & consummauerat matrimonium cum quadam eius germana, quam cognouerat fornicariè: Pope Martin 5. is found to haue dispensed with one, that had contracted, and consummated matrimony with a sister of her, whom he had knowne in fornication*. Where it appeareth plainly

S. R. the dolefull kell. Fr. VValsingham &c. S. Antonin. sum. 3. p. tit. 1. c. 11.

plainly by those last words (for betwixt brother, and sister it had byn more then fornication) &, likwise by that (*eius*) which in *M. Downams* sense must haue byn (*sua*) that this dispensation was only betwixt him (who had committed the sinne of fornication with a meere strãger) and that wonans sister; for this also is strictly forbidden by the lawes of the Church, and is not easily dispensed in, as apppeareth by the relation of *S. Antoninus*, who alledgeth also iust impediments, why these two could not haue byn diuorced or separated without scandall, which cannot easily be conceiued to fall out, by the separation of brother, and sister, but rather by their cohabitation in that manner. Wherefore *Summa Angelica*, which is the other author alledged by *M. Downam*, is euidently conuinced of error, for it only reciteth the history out of *S. Antoninus*, and consequently ought not to be believed against him; but if *M. Downam* had only read it there, he might in some sort haue byn excused, since in that Summe both the last clause is omitted, and (*eius*) turned into (*sua*) by which it is manifest, that this author was in the same error with *M. Downam*. *Summa Angelica V. Papa 1.*

That which followeth of *Clement* the 7. that *he licenced Petrus Aluaradus the Spaniard for a some of money, to enioy two sisters at once* &c. hath no author alledged for it, and therefore deserueth no credit; but if there were any such matter, eyther the former marriage was voyd, and none at all, or els this licence was feigned by the *Spaniard*, as that other of the *French* Earle of *Armenia*, who as *Paulus Aemelius* relateth, kept his owne sister incestuously. *falso diplomate Pontificio edito, vt ius sibi fasq; esset sororem germanã in matrimonium ducere: hauing published a false bull of the Pope, that it was lawfull for him to mary his owne sister.* *M. Downams* next obiection is concerning childrens entring into religion against their parents will, which he taketh to be against the fourth commandement. But in this he is deceiued, as he may easily see conuinced by *Cardinall Bellarmine*, neither is this done by any dispẽsatiõ of the Pope, the thing being lawfull and not prohibited of it selfe, and therfore is wholly from the present purpose. *M. Downam* goeth forward, *Clement 7.* *Paulus Aemil. l. 10. in Ludouic. 11. post med. Paris. impress. 1544. p. 237. l. D.* *See Bell. l. de monach. cap. 36.*

and obiecteth, that the Pope *absolueth subiects from their oaths, forbiddeth them to obey their Princes, excommunicateth lawfull Princes, yea suborneth wicked traytours to murther their soueraignes.*

But this last is a meere calumniation, for the rest, that the Pope hath lawfull power from Christ, hath byn of late largely confirmed, and M. *Downam* will neuer proue the contrary. Neyther is this to dispense in the law of God, but only in the lawes, and obligations of men, *ex præscripto legis Dei & naturæ*, as I sayd before; no more then to put offenders to death; or to defend our selues euen with the death of others, when there is no other meanes; or not to restore a mad man his sword, are against the law of God. And if M. *Downam* will interpret the glosse of these cases also, which sayth, that the Pope can make of iniustice, iustice, I will not much stand with him, though that exposition, which I brought before is more proper, as appeareth by the annotation vpon that very glosse, which sayth thus: *This whole glosse scarce explicateth any thing in proper words, and yet if it be well vnderstood, it sayth true: for to make nothing somthing, is to enact a new Law, and to make iustice of iniustice, vnderstand by a constitution of law, and to change the nature of things, is to be vnderstood of those things, which belong to positiue Law.* Thus that annotation.

See Bell. l. 5. de sum. pontif.

Seenu. 7. Detrāslat. episc. c. Quanto in gloss.

Now then let vs goe forward with M. *Downam*, who alledgeth *Michael Medina* affirming, that *potestas in diuinas leges ordinarie in Romano Pontifice residet*; power ouer the Lawes of God remayneth ordinarily in the Pope of Rome; but this seemeth to be vnderstood only of interpretation which no doubt belongeth ordinarily to the Pope, it being his chiefest office. Wherefore the next authority, which M. *Downam* bringeth speaketh more plainly of dispensation; for thus M. *Downam* setteth it downe expressely, *Papa potest dispensare contra ius diuinum*, and, *priuilegium contra ius diuinum concedi potest*; *The Pope may dispense, or graunt a priuiledge against the Law of God*; the latter of which two assertions I find in the glosse alledged by M. *Downam*, only ther is a (*forte*) added which M. *Downam* omitteth, but the glosse had reason to adde, since that this his assertion is not only doubtfull, but also false; for he speaketh

Christian. Paraues. l. 7. c. 17.

16. 9. t. c. 45. de decimis.

of

of tythes, which he with other Canoniſts thinke to be *de iure diuino*, commaunded by Gods Law, not only in generall, that is, that the Clergy muſt haue conuenient, and ſufficient mayntenance, but alſo, that this muſt be in ſuch a quantity, and of ſuch perſons; in which they are manifeſtly deceiued, as both ſome *Canoniſts*, and all Deuines teach. Wherefore when the Pope graunteth a priuiledge to ſome not to pay tithes, it is not any way againſt the law of God, but only againſt the law of the Church, in which there is no doubt, but that he may diſpenſe.

See Bell. l. 1. de Cleric. c. 25. & Valēt. 2. 2. diſp. 6. q. 5. punct. 2.

The Canoniſts ſpeake not alway properly.

Neyther is it to be thought, that this gloſſe or any other ſuppoſing the other error, that tithes in all reſpects were comaunded by Gods law, meant to affirme, that the Pope might properly, & in rigour diſpēſe therin, but ōly improperly, as hath byn explicated; which *Panormitanus* ſeemeth in ſome ſort to haue expreſſed, when he affirmeth, as *M. Downā* ſayth, that the Pope *may diſpēſe againſt the law of God in particuler, but not in generall*; for *M. Downam* muſt giue the Canoniſts leaue to ſpeake after their manner, which is not ſo preciſely and diſtinctly, as deuines vſe to do. And yet in the next place they may be vnderſtood of diſpenſation properly taken, when they affirme, that *Papa poteſt diſpenſare contra Apoſtolum. The Pope may diſpenſe againſt an Apoſtle*; for as it is noted vpon the gloſſe it ſelfe in the firſt place, this is to be vnderſtood of the poſitiue law of an Apoſtle; as it appeareth out of the text it ſelfe, which ſpeaketh of diſpenſing with one, that marryed a widdow, or were otherwiſe *bigamus*, to take holy Orders; which is only againſt *S. Pauls* owne precepts: and there is no doubt but *S. Peter* had as large a commiſſion as *S. Paul*, and the Pope hath all that, which *S. Peter* had, ſince that he is his lawfull ſucceſſour in his higheſt iuriſdiction: neyther doth the relation of it in canonicall Scripture make it *de iure diuino* otherwiſe, then that it is a matter of fayth to beliue, that *S. Paul* made ſuch a conſtitution; which notwithſtanding in it ſelfe may be diſpenſed in, as well as thoſe others, which are conteyned in the Canons of the Apoſtles, or any other decree of theirs not extant in Scripture.

extrauag. de auuor. c. fin.

Diſt. 34. c. lector. in gloſſ.

1. Tim. 3.

See Suarez to. 5. in 3. p. diſput. 49. ſect. 5. & 6.

15. q. 6. c. author ita-tem. in gloſſ.

But how happens it that M. *Downam* in the ſecond

place, which he cited also before, could see that the glosse affirmeth, that the *Pope may dispense against the law of nature*, and now, *that he may dispense against an Apostle*, but did not read the words inserted betwixt these two clauses, viz, *so that notwithstanding he dispenseth not against the ghospell, or against the articles of faith?* By which it appeareth in what sense *Felinus* or any other can affirme, that *the Pope may dispense against the new Testament vpon a great cause*, and that *the Pope may dispese against the Epistles of S. Paul*, though for this later *M. Downam* seemeth to haue forgotten to alledge the place. But it is manifest, that they only speake of dispensing in some positiue constitution of the Apostles, as in that which wee spake of before, or that in the Acts, concerning eating of *strangled things, and blood*. And surely I cannot see how the Protestants can thinke it lawfull for them to eate these meates, vnlesse they admit this authority of dispensing in such precepts to be in the Church; since that in the Scripture there is no mentiõ made of any dispensation of the Apostles therin, but as wee see their expresse commandment for the obseruation thereof.

Act. 15.

Finally *Summa Angelica*, which *M. Downam* obiecteth in the last place, speaketh only of declaration of the law of God, which it improperly calleth dispensation, and therefore it teacheth expressely, that the two first precepts are altogether indispensable, because *ratio legis*, by which he meaneth the essence of the law, and not the reason for which it was made, as *M. Downam* seemeth to conceiue, can in no case be separated from them; because no circumstance or alteration can make it good to adore an Idol, or to forsweare: and the same is in the third precept, in so much as it cõmandeth in generall, that God be worshiped, though not in respect of such a determinate day, cõcerning which it is chãgeable, as is manifest by the vse of the whole Church: likewise this author affirmeth, that in the other precepts of the secõd Table, *quantum ad rationẽ ipsorum non potest cadere dispensatio*, in so much as belongeth to the essence (that is, in so much as they are the rules, and lawes of our actions) there can be no dispensation; whereupon he inferreth that, which *M. Downam* obiecteth

Sũma Angelica V. Papa. 1. & 2.

eth, that the *Pope cannot diſpenſe vniuerſally in the precepts of the ſecond table*; but he giueth not that reaſon, which M. *Downam* addeth in a parentheſis (*for that were not to diſpenſe with them, but wholly to abrogate the lawes themſelues*) this I ſay is not the reaſon of *Summa Angelica*, but of M. *Downam*, who ſeemeth not very well to vnderſtand this matter of diſpenſation; for ther can be no doubt but that a Prince may diſpēſe vniuerſally with all the lawes of his realme, and yet not abrogate any of them.

The Pope declareth in what caſe the law of God bindeth.

But perhaps M. *Downam* vnderſtood that (vniuerſally) not only in reſpect of the precepts of the 2. Table; but alſo in reſpect of all thoſe perſons, whom thoſe precepts concerne, and all the caſes wherin thoſe precepts do bind; for which he might haue ſome ground, eſpecially not being acquaynted with the phraſes and manners of ſpeaches which Canoniſts and Scholaſticall deuines do vſe: well, howſoeuer this be, certaine it is, that this auth or confoundeth not diſpenſation and abrogation of lawe, and therfore he giueth another reaſon, why the Pope can not diſpenſe vniuerſally in theſe precepts of the 2. Table, *quia vt communiter, & in pluribus in eis ineſt ratio legis, becauſe commonly and for the moſt part, they haue in themſelues the eſſence of a law*: and conſequently commonly, and for the moſt part, the Pope cannot diſpenſe in them, according to this author.

After which he addeth: *Tamē ſi occurret caſus particularis, in quo deficeret ratio legis propter cauſas ſpeciales impedientes obſeruationem præceptorum legis, ex applicatione ipſorum ad diuerſas materias; tunc Papa poſſet diſpenſare. Notwithſtanding if there ſhould occurre a particuler caſe, in which the forme or eſſence of the law ſhould fayle for ſpeciall cauſes hindering the obſeruation of the precepts of the law, by reaſon of their application to diuers matters, then the Pope might diſpenſe*; where we ſee more then halfe the words of this author cut of by M. *Downam*; for he only recyteth them thus: *but in particuler caſes, vbi ratio legis deficit, where the reaſon of the law fayleth, he may diſpenſe with all the precepts of the old and new teſtament*; perhaps the later words were obſcure to M. *Downam*, and therfore he thought them impertinent. But they are not ſo, yea they declare the whole matter,

and what this authors opinion is therein. And it is, that then only the Pope can dispense in these precepts, when there is some speciall cause, which hindreth their obseruation; and this proceedeth from their application to diuers matters, so that, it belongeth only to the Pope to declare what matter this is, to which if the precept be applyed, the obseruation therof is hindred by a speciall cause; for in such cases that precepts hath not the forme or essence of a law, and consequently byndeth nor.

Downam misalledgeth his authors.

And therfore when this is once knowne, there needeth no further dispensation, because, as is manifelt, when one is free, as in this case, where the law ceaseth, he needeth no exemption. And therfore all, that the Pope is to do, is to declare, when these cases fall out, as hath bin seen. And this appeareth yet more plainly by that, which followeth in *M. Downam*, concerning the manner how this is to be found out. I will set downe the authors owne words, for *M. Downam* here againe changeth them a litle, and besides leaueth out one whole clause, which is very necessary, giuing more occasion to mildoubt his sincerity, then before. Thus then writeth the Summe: *But who can know when the essence of the law is wanting in some case? I answere, that we haue thus sometymes by the example of God himselfe, who hath often dispensed in his law; by which in the like case we may also know. But when we haue no example of such a dispensation, or the like in holy Scripture, then the declaration therof belongeth to the Pope alone, to whom it was sayd; Whatsoeuer thou bindest vpon earth, in d. c. quodcumq; who certainly hath declared many things, as in the matter of a vow, an oath, & the like.* Thus farre al edgeth *M. Downam*, though mamedly.

But that which followeth he omitteth altogeather, for thus goeth that author forward: *And sometymes also, we gather out of our reason it selfe, as we do in a sword left to be kept, which we say is not to be restored to the leauer being become mad, as in c. Nequis 22. q. 2. and the like.* Thus the Summe; wher we see, that when we may either out of naturall reason, or euident Scripture gather, that the essence of the law can not stand with all the circumstances which concur: we need not haue recourse to the Pope: but when the case is doubt.

doubtfull, then it belongeth to him to declare the ſame; which is all the diſpenſation, that this author requyreth, for which cauſe alſo he reconcileth all the opinions of the Canoniſts, though ſome of them ſay, that the Pope may declare, other that he may interpret, other that he may limit, & diſtinguiſh Gods law; which ſayth this author *nothing els but to ſay, that he may ſee, whether the eſſence ceaſeth or not, that ſo he may diſpenſe or not diſpenſe*. And thus no doubt his doctrine is very true, and may be extended, as he noteth, and M. *Downam* expreſſed before, *to all the precepts of the old, and new Teſtament*, which may haue this variety of matter, and circumſtances; for of ſuch he only ſpeaketh, as is manifeſt by that, which he ſayd in the begining of the three firſt precepts.

In what ſenſe the Popes declaration may haue place.

And now I hope, M. *Downam* will not much meruaile, though this author, or any other Catholike, who acknowlegeth the Pope for his ſupreme paſtor, *do firmely beleue, that if any man craueing a diſpenſation in ſome caſe*, not (in any) as M. *Downam* tranſlateth, *interpoſe not importunity of gifts and interceſſion, but ſimply put himſelfe in the hands of the Pope himſelfe, expreſſing his caſe, that God will not permit his Vicar to erre in diſpenſing*. Thus much for the explication of *Summa Angelica*. Out of whome M. *Downam* doth not rightly conclude, that *whereas the commandments of God, are to be vnderſtood with the exception only*, niſi Deus ipſe aliter voluerit, *vnleſſe God himſelfe otherwiſe appoint, becauſe he alone may diſpenſe with his owne lawes: notwithſtanding by the Popish diuinity they are to be vnderſtood with this exception, vnleſſe the Pope otherwiſe appoint: that is* (ſayth M. *Downam*) *we are bound to keep euery commandement of God, vnleſſe the Pope interpoſe his authority betwixt God and vs* (*as the tribunes of the communalty among the Romans, were wont to interceed againſt other Magiſtrates*) *and exempt vs from the obedience thereof*.

But what litle reaſon M. *Downam* hath for this aſſertion, and compariſon, appeareth ſufficiently to any intelligent Reader, by that which hath byn ſayd. And yet that the whole matter may be the better vnderſtood, I will briefly relate, what difference there is betwixt the diſpenſation of God, and the Pope in naturall, and diuine

uine precepts, and in what sort either they or any other may be sayd to dispense therin. First then Catholike deuines do comonly teach, that God himselfe cannot dispense in the decalogue, and law of nature, at least not in all the precepts therof, yea it seemeth most probable, that he cannot dispense in any; if we speake properly of dispensation, that is a relaxation of the precept, and as it were a licence or grant, that one may do that, which is forbidden by the precept, without any fault.

See Vasques in 1.2. disp. 179.

The reason whereof is, because the law of nature is immutable, that which is forbidden therin being of it owne nature euill, and disagreeing with the nature of a reasonable creature; wherfore since this cannot be changed, so long as that which is once disagreeing vnto it, remayneth in the same state, and with the same circumstances, it must of force be allway disagreeing therunto, and consequently against the law of nature. But if the circumstances of the matter be changed, then that which was before disagreable may become agreable, and consequently not be against the law of nature. As we see in the example, which *Summa Angelica* brought of a sword left in custody of another; for it is impossible, that if all circumstances remayne the same, but he must needes sinne against the law of nature, who should detayne it from the owner: but if we add that other circumstance, that the owner is become mad, and consequently is in danger to kill either himselfe or some other therwith, if it be restored vnto him; now the very same law of nature prescribeth, that it is to be deteyned and not restored.

Whether God can dispense in the decalogue, & law of nature.

And the like may happen by adding some other circumstance, as if the owner himselfe should giue that sword to him that hath it in keeping, it is euident, that the obligation of restoring it ceaseth: so that in this precept, which forbiddeth stealing, a priuate man, as we see, and much more a Prince, and consequently also the Pope, may sometimes add such a circumstance, as may make that matter, which was before prohibited by the law of nature, now to be lawfull. And because God, is not only soueraigne Lord of these externe goods, but also of our liues,

liues, bodyes, fames &c. he may by his supreme authority, add the like circumstances to the matters of the other precepts; as when he not only licenced, but also commaunded *Abraham* to kill his sonne *Isaac*, for it is not forbidden by the law of nature, to kill with Gods leaue, but without it; as also without some other circumstances, which are not needfull to be declared here. But this is not properly dispensation, but only a cessation of the matter and circumstances which are forbidden by the law of nature.

Thus also in vowes, the obligation of the law of nature remayneth; only the vow or promise it selfe is altered, and remitted, and consequently is made no vow, and therfore may be omitted, without violating the law of nature, which only prescribeth, that vowes not remitted, must be performed. And because this remission is often necessary for the quieting of mens consciences, and for the good of soules and of the Church; therfore it is manifest, that the Pope to whom all this care and charge is chiefly committed, is not without this authority, and the like may easily be vnderstood of Oaths. Thus then standeth the matter concerning the law of nature. Now for diuine positiue lawes, it is manifest, that God may properly dispense in them, as likewise abrogate them, if it be his will which the Pope cannot in any sort do, but only he may dispense and abrogate his owne, or his predecessors lawes, as any other Prince may, though if he, or any other do either, without iust cause, they are not free from sinne.

How the Pope dispeseth in vowes &c.

12. Now then let vs go forward with *M. Downam*, for after all this he telleth vs, *that as the Pope may dispense with all the lawes of God, so in the last place he may, & doth take away some, and abrogateth others*: for which he alledgeth *Felinus* saying, that *Papa potest tollere ius diuinum ex parte, non in totum*: the Pope may take away the law of God in part, but not in whole. But it is euident, that this author only speaketh of dispensation, in the manner explicated; for to take away a law in part, is nothing els, but to take away the obligation therof in some particuler case; either by declaration, or by remission, and relaxation of some human

Whether the Pope taketh away and abrogateth the lawes of God.

De maioritat. & obed. c. fin.

action, as we haue already seen. Wherfore omitting authority, *M. Downam* bringeth vs an instance; saying, *that the Pope taketh away the second commaundment out of the decalogue, because with it his Idolatry cannot stand: and to make vp the full number of ten, he deuideth the last commaundment into two, against all reason and authority of antiquity.*

That question concerning the lawfullnesse of the adoration of Images belongeth not to this place; wherfore omitting that, let vs examine the rest. I do not well vnderstand, how *M. Downam* meaneth that the Pope taketh away the second commaundment; for certayne it is, that it is conteyned in all Bibles, and many Catholike Catechismes: though in some of these, which only set downe the substance of the decalogue, those words, which *M. Downam* calleth the 2. Commaundment, are omitted; as well as many other, which belong to other commaundments. But this is not any taking away, except *M. Downam* will inferre, that a man taketh away, and denyeth all that, which he expresseth not, euen when it is not necessary, which were most absurd. Wherfore it only remayneth, that all this taking away consisteth in not making two distinct precepts cõcerning the prohibition of strang Gods, and the making and adoring of Images; for which notwithstanding he bringeth no reason at all; neither indeed can he, since that it is manifest, that in both these nothing els but Idolatry is forbidden; and the later is but an explication of the former: and therfore it is manifest, that reason rather sheweth, that they are only one commaundment and not two, as we see likewise in the third, where first it is commaunded, that we should sanctify the sabboth day, and afterward this is explicated, by the prohibition of all seruile labour vpon that day.

How the Decalogue is deuided.

And on the other side there is manifest reason also, why the two last commaundments should be deuided; for in them are prohibited two, as diuers and distinct sinnes, as in the 6. and 7. which cannot well be reduced to one head; so that *M. Downam* may see, that this diuision is not against all reason; and for antiquity it wanteth not all the authority thereof, as *M. Downam* affirmeth, since

ſince that *S. Auguſtine* doth in diuers places conſtantly follow it; and in one expreſſely propoſe this queſtion, thewing that both theſe diuiſions were imbraced by diuers in his tyme, and he himſelfe preferreth this which we follow, and giueth in effect the ſame reaſons, which I haue ſet downe, adding alſo that by this meanes the myſtery of the Bleſſed Trinity ſeemeth to be inſinuated. *Origen* alſo, though he alloweth the other diuiſion, which we diſallow not, yet he teſtifyeth, that in his tyme there were (*nonnulli*) ſome, which ioyned all that, which both he and *M. Downam* make two, in one precept. And finally *Clemens Alexandrinus* admitteth this diuiſiõ, which the Catholike Church with vniforme conſent hath for theſe manyages in a manner only obſerued.

S. Auguſtin. præſertim l. 1. q. ſuper Exod. q. 71.

Origen hõ. 8. in Exod. Clem. Alexand. l. 6. ſtrom.

After this obiection *M. Downam* telleth vs, *that the Pope alſo abrogateth that commaundment concerning Images, and diuers others by his countermaunds. God forbiddeth vs* (ſayth he) *either to worship, or to ſerue any but himſelfe, Mat. 4. 10. 1. Sam. 7. 3. Exod. 20. 3. The Pope commaundeth vs to worship Angells and Saynts, yea the reliques of Saynts. God forbiddeth the making and worshipping of Images, the Pope commaundeth the contrary.* Thus he; where the Reader will eaſily perceiue, that patience is neceſſary to deale with theſe men, who are not aſhamed to repeat obiections ſo often and ſo eaſily anſwered, as though they were vnheard of, and inuincible arguments: wherfore it ſhalbe ſufficient to ſay in a word, that in thoſe places we are commaunded to ſerue God alone, with the worſhip which is proper to him, commonly expreſſed by the name of *Latria*, or (which is all one) we are forbidden to adore Idols, and falſe Gods. But this hindereth vs not from worſhipping of Angels and Saynts, yea the reliques of Saynts, and Images, with an inferior worſhip and adoration: and that the Reader may ſee, that this is no new diſtinction, I will recite *S. Auguſtines* words to this purpoſe, who writeth thus: *It is a queſtion how it is written, Thou ſhalt adore thy Lord God, and ſerue him alone: ſince that Abraham did honour a certeyne people of the Gentils, in ſuch ſort, that he did alſo adore them. But we muſt note, that in the ſame precept, it is not ſayd, Thou ſhalt adore thy Lord God alone: as it is ſayd, and thou ſhalt*

How Saints reliques, & Images are to be adored.

S. Aug. l. 1. quæſt. ſuper Geneſ. q. 61. See cap. 4. nu. 4.

serue him alone, which is in Greeke λατρεύσεις, *for such seruice is not due but to God, wherby Idolators are condemned: that is, those who exhibit such seruice to Idols, as is due to God.*

And least M. *Downam* should say, that when Angels &c. are adored, this seruice is exhibited to them, *S. Augustine* presently addeth: *Neither let it moue vs, that in another place in a certein Scripture, an Angell prohibiteth a man to adore him and admonisheth, that God rather be adored; for the Angell appeared in such manner, that he might haue byn adored for God, and therfore the adorer was to be corrected.* Hitherto *S. Augustine*, who hath as I hope fully satisfyed M. *Downam* in this point; wherfore now let vs come to the next, in which M. *Downam* writeth thus: *God condemneth stewes, the Pope alloweth them, yea one of them built a famous stewes*, and in his margent he noteth *sixtus quartus*. But first it is plaine, that M. *Downam* either deceyueth himselfe, or his Reader, for in the same sort that God condemneth stewes, the Pope condemneth them also; teaching, that all such people liue in abhominable mortall sinne.

And in the same manner, that the Pope alloweth them, God alloweth them also; that is, they both permit them without present punishement; yea God concurreth with them farre otherwise, then the Pope doth, as is euident. But yet their sinne is most odious to them both; neyther doth the Pope permit it as lawfull; but as a thing which he cannot remedy without greater inconuenience; in which many politike, and wise men, and who haue great care of their conscience, do agree with him. Among whom wee may reckon *S. Augustine*, who feared not to write: *Auser meretrices de rebus humanis, turbauerit omnia libidinibus. Take harlots out of the world, and thou wilt perturb all places with lusts.* And yet this was not for any allowance, which this Saynt gaue to them; since that he wrote immediatly before *Quid sordidius, quid inanius decoris, & turpitudinis plenius, meretricibus, lenonibus, ceterisq; hocgenus pestibus dici potest?* What can be more base, voide of decency, & fuller of filthinesse, then harlots, baudes, & other such pestilent people? wherfore these miserable wretches may be permitted by publik Magistrates vpon iust considerations, eyther for a greater euill

How stewes may be permitted.

Lib. 2. de ordine c. 4.

euill, which is auoyded thereby, as well as vſurers, periurers, drunkards, infidels, heretikes, and the like; of which among wiſe and learned men there is no doubt, or queſtion made.

And as for the famous ſtewes, which M. *Downam* ſayth, that Pope *Sixtus* 4. built; he ſhould haue done well, to haue quoted his author. *Onuphrius* who wrote his life, and maketh mention of many buildings, ſaith not a word of this. But ſuppoſe it were ſo; why may not a Prince build an houſe for them, as well as priuate men may ſell or let them houſes? eſpecially, ſince that they do it in a manner of a priſon, in ſome out place of the citty, prohibiting them to dwell in any other part, and taking from them ſuch houſes as they had before, becauſe it was inconuenient, that they ſhould dwell ſo promiſcuouſly among other honeſt citizens: wherefore indeed this is no litle puniſhment, and reſtraint both for them, and their mates. It followeth in M. *Downam*: *God condemneth concupiſcence as a ſinne; the Pope alloweth it for no ſinne.* And for this he quoteth *Concil. Trident ſeſſ.* 5. But he ſhould haue gone about to haue anſwered ſomething to *Cardinall Bellarmine*, who proueth at large, that concupiſcence in thoſe who are baptized is no ſin, and anſwereth to all the obiections, which Proteſtants bring to the contrary: M. *Downam* here only proueth it with his owne bare affirmation, and therefore deſerueth no other anſwere but a flat deniall; with which alſo he muſt be content in the other queſtions, which he propoſeth, in the ſame manner: as whether the Pope may not forbid ſome the vſe of the cup or Chalice in the Bleſſed Sacrament; whether the Clergy be not exempted from the ſecular yoak, and whether only by the Pope.

Sixtus 4. See c. 6. n. 5.

Bellarm. l. 5. de amiſſ. grat. c. 7. & ſeq.

Idem. l. 4. de Sacram. Euchar. c. 20. & ſeq.

Whether the Pope may not forbid thoſe, who will be of the Clergy to marry, and whether any of theſe things be forbidden by any law of God, as M. *Downam* only affirmeth without any proofe at all. If the Reader be deſirous of any further information in theſe queſtions, he may haue recourſe to the places noted in the margent: and withall I would deſyre him to conſider, what a tri-

Idem. l. 1. de cler. c. 18. & ſeq. & c. 28. & ſeq.

fler M. *Downam* is, to take that for graunted, which is most euidently confuted, and proued falle, by Catholike writers.

From these friuolous obiections, M. *Downam* for want of better matter, commeth to calumniations, affirming, *that it is euident, that the Popes lawes in the Church of Rome, are in greater estimation then the law of God, the obedience of them being more streightly vrged, and disobedience thereof more seuerely punished, then of Gods lawes. As for example, it is more safe* (sayth he) *for a man in the Church of Rome to be a mere Atheist, and a worshiper of no God, then not to be a worshiper of their God of bread, though otherwise a good Christian.* But I would willingly know, how he that worshipeth no God, can worship the Blessed Sacrament? For if he doth not, certeinly in this respect, he is in as great danger as M. *Downams* good Christian, and besides in other respects he is in more: wherfore it should seeme, that M. *Downam* by an Atheist, meaneth a dissembler, who will seeme to worship any thing, though in his heart he belieueth nothing. And thus indeed the Atheist may keepe himselfe more safe among Catholikes, then a Protestant, who is so feruent with the Lords spirit, that he will needes make open profession of his want of fayth. But this only sheweth that Catholikes are men, and cannot know the secrets of mens hearts, but do only iudge of outward actions, which I alway supposed that Protestants had done also.

Atheists.

But let vs heare how M. *Downam* goeth forward, *It is better* (sayth he) *for a Priest to be a Sodomite, then to marry.* This proceedeth of ignorance. M. *Downam* must know, that Catholike Priests cannot marry, as protestant ministers may: but if he meaneth of keeping a woman, it is falle, that, *ceteris paribus*, it is worse for him to do soe, then to be a Sodomit: for all Catholikes know, that Sodomy is a greater sinne then fornication, or adultery eyther. But if on the one side M. *Downam* putteth only one act of Sodomy, and on the other side a long continuance in fornication, with publike scandall, the case is altered, especially if he addeth, that the Priest should call that his manner of life, matrimony, for then among Catholikes he

Priest mariages.

he would be accounted no leſſe then an heretike; which alone would make him full as bad as a Sodomit.

In which ſort *M. Downam* may alſo make good that, which followeth; that it is *better to be a dronkard, and whoremonger, then to eate flesh in Lent*, for otherwiſe it is very falſe, that eating of fleſh in Lent is among vs accounted as great a ſinne as eyther of the other; in ſigne wherof many may vpon iuſt cauſes haue leaue to do that; but theſe other are knowen to be altogeather indiſpenſable. Now M. *Downam* leaueth modern examples, and betaketh himſelfe to the yeare 1254. telling vs of a controuerſy, which fell out, betwixt one *Guilielmus de S. Amore*, and the Religious men of *S. Dominicks* order, whom he falſely chargeth with ſetting *forth a new Goſpell (which they called the Goſpell of the holy Ghoſt and the eternall Goſpell)* wherein they taught, *that Chriſt is not God, and that his Goſpell is not the true Goſpell, and no more to be compared with their Goſpell, then the nut ſhell is to be compared with the kernell*: This I ſay is falſe, for euen *Catalogus teſtium* it ſelfe writeth, that this booke was ſayd to be ſet forth by one, who was dead, and not by the common conſent of thoſe religious men, as M. *Downam* reporteth.

Fasting frō fleſh.

Guilielm. de S. Amore.

See c. 3. n. 7.

Neyther was their controuerſy with *Guilielmus de S. Amore* concerning this Goſpell, but about other errors of his, which I haue in part declared before: for which no meruayle, though the Pope degraded him, and depoſed him from all his dignityes, and ſent him into exile. None of which puniſhements thoſe religious men deſerued, ſince they only defended the truth, and had nothing at all to do with that new Goſpell, as they were ſlaundered, and therefore there was no cauſe, why that book ſhould be burnt publikly to their diſgrace; but it was ſufficient, that a priuat booke of a priuat authour, eſpecially being dead, ſhould be ſecretly burnt by the Pope.

Finally M. *Downam* telleth vs, that among Catholikes it is *better for priuat men to read any bookes of ribaldry, or any villany whatſoeuer, then to read any part of Scripture in their owne tongue.* And if he meaneth of *Geneua* bibles, which conteyne many falſe tranſlations, and hereticall annotations, he ſayth true

Vulgar tranſlatiōs of Scripture.

true, that these are more strictly forbidden, or at least as streightly, as those other, because the infection of heresy is as much feared among Catholikes, as those other vices: but if he speaketh of the bible faythfully translated, his assertion is very false; for it was neuer absolutly vnlawfull to reade it; but only it was commanded, that it should be done with leaue of Superiours, which was neuer denyed to any for whom that reading might seeme profitable, as appeareth sufficienly by that, which we see at this day in our coūtry, where such reading is permitted to all, because there is hope that it may be more profitable thē hurtfull: but for those other kind of books there is neuer no licence graunted to any, no more then for the committing of other sinnes; whatsoeuer M. *Downam* hath sayd, or can say to the contrary: wherfore he concludeth this poynt of the Popes aduancing himselfe aboue God & the Scriptur, with the saying of one *Veratꝰ*, alleged by M. *Iewell: Humiliter confitemur, Ecclesiæ authoritatem esse supra Euangelium*, we humbly confesse, that the authority of the Church is aboue the Gospell. But this seemeth to be one of M. *Iewels* iests: & if any Catholike were so simple, as to say so in good earnest, his meaning may easily be gathered out of that, which hath byn sayd before, though his words be not so humble, as vnaduised.

The excellēcy of the Popes Priesthood.

13. Hitherto M. *Downam* hath discoursed at large of the Popes Propheticall office, now he will add a word also concerning his priesthood. And first he obiecteth the Name of *Pontifex Optimus Maximus*, which is by one *Amicius* giuen to the Pope (being an *Epithete* which the heathens giue to their chief God *Iupiter*) but he cannot be so ignorant, but he knoweth, that this title of *Pontifex Maximus*, was giuen by the Gentils to others besides *Iupiter*; yea as *Festus* declareth there were foure degrees preferred among the *Romans* before this of *Pontifex Maximus*, and among the Iewes the title of *Summus Sacerdos* was frequent, & applyed to others besides the chiefest Priest of all, who was properly called *Pontifex*, and *Sacerdos Maximus*. And the like we find among Christians, whose Bishops haue often had this title of *Summus Pontifex*: and the Bishop of *Rome* was

Festus in verb. Ordo. Leuit. 21. *See Baron. annot. in Martyrol. April 9. & in Anal. anno Christi 216. to. 2. Tertul. l. de pudicit. c. 1.*

euen

euen in *Tertullians* tyme called *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, but of ſuch titles we haue ſpoken ſufficiently not long before.

Of that other which is added (*Optimæ*) I need not ſay any thing, ſince that it is manyfeſt, that it is commonly giuen to many, who are farre inferior in dignity to the Pope, and if *M. Downam* hath any difficulty in this, let him but turne to the places of Scripture noted in the margent, and it will ceaſe. Wherefore let vs examine the reſt. In which I cannot ſee, why M. *Downam* ſhould be offended, that the Pope is called *at Great Prieſt according to the order of Melchiſedech*; for this belongeth no more to him, then to euery other Chriſtian Prieſt, whom I ſuppoſe he will not haue to be Prieſts according to the other of *Aaron*; ſince that Chriſt is ſo expreſſely ſayd to be a Prieſt according to the order of *Melchiſedech*, and conſequently thoſe who partake of his Prieſt-hood muſt of force be ſo likewiſe. If the title of *Great Prieſt* troubleth him, he may be ſatisfied with that which hath byn ſayd; by which alſo he may vnderſtand the meaning of that Anthymne *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, which is common to all Biſhops, who are as great in the order of Prieſt-hood, if we take it preciſely without iuriſdiction, as the Pope is.

Luc.4. Act.23. 24.26.

Pſal.109. Heb.5.&c.

That which *M. Downam* for want of other matter bringeth here againe concerning the Cardinalls kiſſing the Popes feet, hath byn ſufficiently diſcuſſed before; ſince without queſtion he will haue no more difficulty in admitting this in Cardinalls, then in Emperours and Kings. And yet I muſt tell him by the way, that he ſhould not haue related theſe ceremonyes by halfs, but haue told vs likewiſe, how the Cardinalls after they haue kiſſed his foot, are admitted to kiſſe his hand, and face alſo.

Lib.1.Ceremo.ſect. 12.c.5.

I ſhall not need to ſay any thing of the Popes being *Prince of Prieſts, and Head of the Chriſtian Religion, Prieſt of Prieſts &c.* eſpecially ſince *M. Downam* quoteth no authors for them; in which reſpect I might alſo omit that, which he addeth, that the *Pope remitteth both fault and punishment both to quick and dead, whereas Chriſt remitteth only to the liuing; and (as*

they say) forgiueth the fault, but not the punishment; neither doth this indulgent Father grant pardon alone for sinnes past, but also for offences to come. In answere of all which, it wilbe sufficient to explicate the true Catholike doctrine in these poynts: first then the Pope remitteth not faults, any otherwise then other Priests do, that is, in the Sacrament of Confession, to such as are sory for them, and purpose to amend; by which it is manifest, that he remitteth no faults to the dead, since that they cannot come to confession to him. And the very same is to be sayd of eternall punishment, which followeth the fault, and is not otherwise remitted then by the remission therof; by which it also appeareth, that the Pope cannot pardon either of these, before the sinnes be committed, because vntill then, the party cannot confesse that he hath done them, which is absolutly necessary; for if he should only say, that he hath a purpose to do them, and continueth in the same, that maketh him incapable of absolution; and if he recalleth it, and resolueth to haue it no more, thē it becometh a sinne past, so that in this sense *M. Downams* assertion is a meere calumniation.

How the Pope remitteth faults, & eternal punishment.

Now concerning the remission of temporall punishment, it is true, that the Pope may giue it both to quick and dead, though after a different manner, for to those who are aliue, he giueth it as to such as are vnder his iurisdiction, by absolution; but to the soules in Purgatory, he only giueth it by manner of suffrage and solution or payment, in which there is great difference, as Deuines do explicate. Neither is any capable of this remission for sinnes to come, as is euident, since that this temporall payne cannot be actually remitted, vntill the fault it selfe be forgiuen; wherfore when indulgences are graunted for the houre of death, or other tyme to come, they are not actually applyed, vntill that tyme be expired, but only meanes is affoarded by which at such tymes indulgence and pardon may be actually obteyned, if all things required on his part, who is to gayne them, be duely performed; one of which, and the most essentiall is euer, that the party haue obteyned remission of his faults, for with-

How he remitteth temporall punishment.

See Bell. & Suarez de Indulgētijs

without this he were altogeather incapable of the other.

Wherfore if at any tyme, an Indulgence be graunted in ſuch ſort, that the Pope ſayth, he abſolueth from fault, and from puniſhment (which is ſeldom or neuer) the meaning therof only is, that whoſoeuer gayneth the indulgence, muſt of force remayne free from both, becauſe he cannot gayne the remiſſion of temporall puniſhment, which the indulgence only importeth, except his faults be firſt remitted: ſometymes alſo thoſe words import, that the Pope doth not only graunt the indulgence, but alſo giueth leaue, that he may be abſolued from all ſinnes whatſoeuer, though he ſhould haue ſome caſes reſerued, for which otherwiſe he muſt haue had recourſe to the Pope, or at leaſt to ſome other Prelat and Superiour.

How the Pope remitteth neither the fault nor the puniſhment, but as Chriſts inſtrumẽt.

Finally that which is inſerted concerning our Sauiour, is altogeather falſe; for ſince all Catholikes affirme, that neither the Pope or any Prieſt concurreth to the remiſſiom of ſinnes, but as Chriſts inſtrument and Miniſter; it is euident, that whatſoeuer they do, is attributed to him, as to the principall agent and cauſe: wherfore I cannot ſee, what ground *M. Downam* could haue for theſe aſſertions, vnleſſe that he took that which is affirmed of the Sacrament of penance, to be vnderſtood of Chriſt; for it is true, that only the liuing may enioy this Sacrament, and commonly only the fault and the eternall payne is forgiuen therin; but there remayneth ſome temporall puniſhment to be ſatisfyed for in this life, or ſuffered in the other.

14. But I ſtay longer then needeth in explication of the Popes Prieſthood, eſpecially ſince *M. Downam* haſteneth (as he ſayth) to his kingly office; in which that common ſaying proueth true, that haſt maketh waſt: for he ſayth in a manner nothing, which he hath not ſayd before, and the greateſt part conſiſteth of ſome Canoniſts ſpeaches concerning the Popes temporall direct authority; which Deuines do commonly deny; and therfore if *M. Downam* had no other difficulty but this, he might be a Catholike himſelfe. To auoyd prolixity, and not to weary the Reader, I thinke it beſt, to paſſe ouer in ſi-

lence, all his idle repetitions, and likewise his allegations, out of the Canonists to the effect aforesayd; and only to examine the rest, if there be any thing left, worth the speaking of. Wherfore he carpeth at an oration made before *Leo* 10. in which the oratour accōmodateth that name to him, *Leo de tribu Iuda*; which accommodation and application may haue a very good sense, as is manifest, and consequently there ought to be no doubt, but that the oratour meant it so. How the Popes power extendeth it selfe to heauen, is manifest out of our Sauiours words to *S. Peter*: *I will giue thee the keyes of heauen, whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth, shalbe bound in heauen &c.* and by the same also is expressed his great power vpon earth. As for Purgatory I haue in part shewed, that the Pope hath no direct power ouer those soules, but only may help them by applying the Sacrifices and prayers of the Church and faythfull people for their release, togeather with the merits of our Sauiour and his Saynts, by the meanes of indulgences. But *M. Downam* will giue vs occasiō to speake more particularly of this, in the next §. Concerning Saynts and Angells, *M. Downam* bringeth nothing, which hath not byn already answered.

Orat. in Cōcil. Later. sess. 6.

Mat. 16.

How the Popes power reacheth ouer Infidells is diuersly explicated, according to the diuersity, which is among learned Catholikes. Concerning his temporall power *M. Downam* is much delighted with the citation of the Canonists: who, if he hath any thing to obiect against them, will not be afrayd to answere him. And for those arguments which they take sometymes out of some mysticall exposition, or rather accōmodation, and allusion to some fact or word of our Sauiour concerning *S. Peter*; they take them rather as explications of their opinion, then any sound proofe; in which they haue *S. Bernards* example for their warrant; from whom that of the two swords, which *M. Downam* obiecteth out of Pope *Boniface*, is in a manner *Verbatim* taken. And this is in effect all, which is obiected concerning the Popes tempo- power: and for his spirituall *M. Downam* bringeth good arguments, but none against it. Neyther doe I see any thing,

thing, that needeth explication; except perhaps ſome vnderſtand not how the Pope is ſayd to haue the fulneſſe of power. But there is no difficulty in it, for this is only meant in reſpect of other Biſhops, and paſtours, whoſe power dependeth, and is limited by that of the Popes.

That the Pope may make lawes which bind in conſcience with guilt of mortall ſinne, is common with him to all lawfull, and ſoueraigne Princes: and I meruayle, how *M. Downam* dareth call this in queſtion. It is likewiſe common to them all to be liuing lawes, and to haue all lawes in the cloſet of their breſts, becauſe they may expound, and alter their owne lawes, and diſpoſe aboue them; in which I cannot ſee what may be obiected. Finally, there can be no queſtion, but that the Pope is the only viſible gouernour, vnto whom the whole Church hath byn committed, and therefore thoſe compariſons, which ſome make, betwixt God and him, are only to be vnderſtood with due proportion, which is farre from equality; but only as the Vice-Roy is ſayd to gouerne the country in which he is placed by the King, as the King himſelfe gouerneth another, where he is reſident himſelfe; though this example cannot come neere the māner of Gods gouernment, who is inuiſibly no leſſe preſent in earth then in heauen; but yet there he manifeſteth himſelfe to his Saynts, and reſideth as it were in the chiefeſt country of his Kingdome; wherfore let vs conclude, that though *M. Downam* may cauill at theſe high myſteries among the ſimple people, yet in very deed he ſayth nothing, which in the iudgment of any diſcreet Reader, will not appeare very friuolous, and of no moment at all.

15. It were not neceſſary to adde any more concerning that, which *M. Downam* laſtly obiecteth concerning Purgatory. But yet that he may haue no cauſe to complayne, I ſhall ſay a word more; for which it wilbe only neceſſary to note, beſides that limitation which I related before, that the Pope cannot abſolue the ſoules in purgatory from their paynes; but only by way of ſuffrage, and payement, doth apply the ſatisfacti-

How the Pope releaſeth ſoules out of Purgatory.

on Christ and his Saints to them, the reason of which is, because they are not subiect vnto him, as the faythfull, who liue in this world are. Besydes this I say, ther be many other things required, that Indulgences may be profitable to them in purgatory; two of which are expressed in the place which *M. Downam* alledgeth out of *S. Antoninus*, though indeed it rather be the doctrine of *Aug. de Anchona*, whom *S. Antonin.* expressely alledgeth for it. The one is, that they be the soules of such who were baptized in this life, because that Sacrament being the entrance into the Church, those who haue not actually receiued it, are depriued of many benefits, which others enioy. The other condition expressed in *S. Antoninus*, and omitted by *M. Downam*, is; that the soules in purgatory haue frends liuing in this world, who will performe that for them, which is required for the obteining of the indulgence; both which conditions, as you may perceiue, do greatly limit the Popes authority in this matter, according to this *Doctours* opinion; for it is not sufficient, that the Pope should graunt a plenary Indulgence to all soules in purgatory, for them to be released, except they be both baptized, and besids haue frends, who will pray and performe other pious acts for them, which are required in the Indulgence it selfe.

Part. 3. tit. 22. c. 5. §. 6. & 7.

See Suarez de Indulgentijs.

But besides this, all Catholike authors doe comonly agree, that the Pope must haue some other motiue to graūt these Indulgences, besides the only releeuing of those souls, and consequently the greater the Indulgence is, the greater the cause which moueth him therunto must likewise be: wherefore now here entreth the question which *M. Downam* proposeth; whether ther may be any cause sufficient for the Pope to graunt such an Indulgence, as may deliuer all the soules that are in Purgatory? In which all seeme to agree that there can be no such cause, and therfore the Pope cannot, euen in so much as belongeth to him, graunt any such Indulgence. And for this cause, as *S. Antoninus* relateth in the same place, *S. Thomas* absolutly denied that the Pope could do any such matter. *Augustinus de Anchona* thought better to distinguish, saying, that if wee consi-

Whether the Pope can at once deliuer all the soules which are in Purgatory.

conſider only the Popes authority, it ſeemed, that he might doe it; but if we regard the orderly execution of his iuriſdiction, he neither can, nor ought to doe it; which was in effect to ſay the ſame with *S. Thomas*; for the reaſon why the Pope cannot doe it, proceedeth not ſo much out of any limitation in his power it ſelfe, as for that there can be no ſufficient cauſe to doe ſo; without which the Pope cannot exerciſe the power, which he hath in this particuler.

And by this it appeareth plainly, how falſely *M. Downam* relateth the opinion of Catholiks to be, *that the Pope may deliuer ſo many ſoules out of Purgatory, as it pleaſeth him*; ſince that matter ſtandeth not only in the Popes pleaſure, but muſt haue alſo many conditions, and circumſtances, without which the Popes graunt is not only vnlawfull, but likewiſe of no validity: yea indeed *M. Downam* goeth further, and without all ground affirmeth, that wee teach, *that the Pope is able by his Indulgences to deliuer from hell ſo many ſoules as pleaſeth him*; which certeynely is a very exorbitant calumniation. Neyther hath he any other ground for it, but the fable of *Traian*, which wee ſpake of before, ſhewing how Catholiks confute it: and beſids, if it be true, yet it followeth not, that the Pope can doe the ſame, as *Antoninus* expreſſely noteth in the ſame place, as wee haue ſeene. Finally in this matter we may note that, which *M. Downam* bringeth laſtly out of *S. Antoninus*; that ſuppoſing there might be ſuch a cauſe found, as might ſeeme ſufficient to moue the Pope to graunt an vniuerſall indulgence for all the ſoules in Purgatory (which as we haue ſeene, all thinke altogether improbable) yet euen in that caſe, there remayneth ſome doubt, whether it would be pleaſing to God, that the Pope ſhould doe ſo, becauſe the matter ſeemeth not to be without exceſſe, and therfore rather offenſiue, then acceptable to God. That other calumniation, which *M. Downã* imputeth to the Pope, that *he is not pleaſed to let out any from the paines of Purgatory, vnleſſe he be well pleaſed for his Indulgences, and pardons*, is not worth the anſwering; ſince that it is euident, that he graunteth as many Indulgences, requiring

The Pope graunteth many Indulgences without exacting almes.

ring only prayers, faſtings, pilgrimages, and the like, as appointing almes; which notwithſtanding ſeldom or neuer are applyed to the Popes vſe or commodity, but for the relieuing of the poore, or the builying of ſome Church or maintayning the warres againſt the Turke, or ſome other ſuch pyous worke.

And if *M. Downam* thinketh it good cheap to giue 10. ſhillings, to ſet at liberty one ſoule; the Pope is nothing rigorous in this exaction, for commonly a farre leſſe almes is ſufficient, eſpecially among poore people. That which he concludeth his whole Chapter withall out of the Biſhops oration, hath bin already anſwered. And therfore now it only remayneth, that we alſo conclude this Chapter, deſiring the Reader to reflect vpon two things; firſt what friuolous obiections *M. Downam* hath made; for commonly they are nothing els (if you take away his falſe calumniations) but ſuch points of doctrine as are moſt true, and euidently proued to be ſuch by Catholike authors, and conſequently do manifeſtly declare the great and eminent authority which the Pope hath giuen him by Chriſt; all which ought in all reaſon to cauſe a dutifull and humble reſpect and reuerence to his place and perſon. But *M. Downam* like the ſpider would conuert all this to poyſon, making all this greatneſſe ſerue his turne, to bring the Pope into hatred and contempt; ſuppoſing ſtill that he vſurpeth more, then is due to him; but neuer going about to proue it, nor to anſwere the arguments of Catholike authors, which indeed are inuincible.

M. Downãs Petitio principij.

The other point which I deſire the Reader to note is, that though the Pope did exceed in his authority, as *M. Downam* would giue vs to vnderſtand; yet not euery exceſſe, or vſurpation in iuriſdiction proueth any to be Antichriſt, but ſuch as induce an open oppoſition and exaltation aboue Chriſt, and all that is called God, as hath bin proued in the firſt part of this Treatiſe. And therfore in euery reſpect *M. Downam* ſpeaketh altogeather not only moſt falſely, but idly alſo, and from the purpoſe.

Downam ſpeaketh from the purpoſe.

THE

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

OF

Other Vices and Sinnes which M. Downam *chargeth the Popes withall.*

THOVGH the vices and sinnes of particuler Popes make nothing at all to the present question, as is manifest, since that not euery sinfull man is therfore Antichrist; and besides the vices of some few Popes ought to be of lesse force to condemne the rest, then the knowne and eminent sanctity of many others is to excuse these: yet for the more satisfaction of the Reader, I am content briefly also to examine, what M. *Downam* can obiect concerning the personall defects of some Popes. First then he telleth vs, that many vices of Popes either *were not knowne, or not recorded*; but then I aske him, how he came to haue notice of them? Surely he can yield no reason but his vncharitable suspicions; which whosoeuer will follow, may easily affirme as much of M. *Downam*, or any other better man.

Whether some Popes haue byn Atheists & Sorcerers or no.

After this he cõmeth to particulers, and nameth *Iohn* 24. *Alexander* 6. *Sixtus* 4. *Paulus* 3. *Clemens* 7. *Iulius* 2. and 3. *Leo* 10. to haue byn very *Atheists, and scorners of Religion*. But here he bringeth no proofes at all, remitting himselfe

Chap. 4. 6. 8.

to that, which he obiected before; where I alſo examined all that he could ſay, and therfore muſt deſire the Reader to turne to that place. Now I am only to ſay a word concerning *Iohn* 12. whom M. *Downam* hath found out, or remembred ſince. Againſt whom he obiecteth, that he *vſed to blaſpheme God, and at his dice to call vpon the Diuell, and in his feaſts to drinke vnto him*. In which accuſation, that of blaſpheming God, ſeemeth only to be inferred out of the two latter: for I cannot find any expreſſe, and diſtinct mention therof in the author which M. *Downam* quoteth; but the later two he relateth in theſe words: *Diaboli in amorem vinum libiſſe, omnes tam Clerici quam Laici acclamarunt. In ludo alea, Ioui, Veneris, cæterorumq; dæmonum auxilium popoſciſſe dixerunt*. All the Clergy and Laity cryed out, that he had drunke wine for the Diuells ſake. They ſayd alſo that he had craued the help of *Iupiter*, *Venus*, and other Diuells while he played at dice, out of which though in rigour it may ſeeme, that he inuocated the Diuells, yet ſince we haue no other teſtimony therof, it may very well be thought, that he did all this rather in a ruffian-like manner, as ſuch wicked men vſe, then that he meant to call vpon the Diuells indeed; though his accuſers exaggerating matters againſt him, interpreted his words in the worſt ſenſe. But how ſoeuer this be, we willingly graunt, that M. *Downam* hath reaſon to be offended with this Pope; againſt whom Catholike authors write as vehemently, as he can do, if he will not exceed the truth.

Iohn 12.

Luitprandus in faſci. temporum lib. 6. cap. 7.

But all that can be ſayd of his vices is not only perſonall, but ſheweth likewiſe the inconueniences, that enſue vpon vniuſt and tyrannicall intruſion, without lawfull vocation, and Canonicall election into ſo eminent a place; for thus came this *Iohn* to be Pope, being a youth of 18. yeares at the moſt, and pretending nothing els but to ſatisfy his filthy appetites, and ambitious humour. And yet ſuch was the deſire of vnity & peace which both the Emperour *Otto* the firſt, and all the Chriſtian world beſides ſhewed, that they were rather content to admit ſuch a monſter in the Apoſtolicke Sea, then to rayſe a ſchiſme by electing another Pope: though at length

after

after 8. yeares, the Emperour would haue deposed him at the instance, & acculation of the Clergy; but then it was to late, and more then he or any other could lawfully doe.

Concerning that which followeth in *M. Downam* concerning *Siluester* the second, and *Gregory* 7. and all the Popes betwixt them (of whom he is not ashamed to affirme, that they were *Sorcerers* and *Necromancers*) I need not adde any thing to that, which I sayd before; only in generall I may say, that many of these Popes were exceeding vertuous and holy men, and Canonically elected, so that there cannot the least obiection be made against them; some other were indeed intruded by some of the *Roman* nobility, and therefore no meruaile, though they proued accordingly: of which number chiefly was this *Benedict*, before called *Theophilact*, of whom *M. Downam* telleth vs such strange things, and it is very true that he was made Pope by his father beyng very young, and he gaue himselfe to all wickednesse, and sensuality, for which the *Romans* went about to depose him; but yet he kept his place in some sort, vntill *Gregory* the 6. perswaded him, and other two, who liued at *Rome* togeather, in 3. seuerall Churches, to resigne, after which he had no longer any right or title to that place; though stil vpon euery occasiō, he was ready to intrude himselfe; for which cause finding no other meanes to helpe himselfe, how farre he might deale with the Diuell, is vncertayne. But yet no other author besides *Benno*, & such as haue takē their narratiōs vpō such vncertaine groūds, do say any thing of his sorcery, & much lesse of the other Popes, vntill *Gregory* 7. Wherefore this is euidētly a most false fictiō; as that likewise of *Gregory* 6. whose true history wee haue heard before, out of *Otto Frisingensis* a most learned and faythfull writer; which is likewise confirmed by many others, as *Cardinall Baronius* relateth, who were to be perused in the history of all these Popes. And by this the Reader may iudge, what credit is to be giuen to *M. Downam*, when he affirmeth, that *to these three, which he hath named; some* 20. *more might be added*; though indeed it cannot be denied, that if a man will feigne or follow false histories against the manifest truth

Benedict 9.

Greg. 6. *See c.* 4. *n.* 8.

it would be no hard matter, to obiect anything.

Whether some Popes haue bin murtherers & barbarously cruell.

2. Thus hath *M. Downam* obiected what he could against the Popes concerning the first table; now he commeth to the second; where first he telleth vs, that *Gregory 7. poysoned six Popes to make himselfe a way to the Papacy, and sought to murther Henry the Emperour, as he was at his prayers in the Church:* for which narration he quoteth his friend *Bal. ex Mario*; but the first author of this feigned calumniation is that schismaticall, and hereticall *Benno*, who wrote a most bitter and lying inuectiue against this Pope. The truth is, as appeareth out of other authors, and that most worthy *Cardinall Baronius* relateth, that of all those 6. Popes only *Victor* 2. was euer in danger of any poison, and that while he was at masse, his subdeacon hauing put poyson in the Chalice; but God declared both the danger, and the author thereof with a double Miracle; for the Pope could not eleuate the Chalice: whereupon he betooke himself together with the people to pray, & presently the subdeacon was possessed and tormented by the Diuel, but deliuered agayne at the Popes and peoples intercession.

Victor 2.

Now as for *Gregory* the 7. then Cardinall, he was absent in France, sent thither by this Pope in most honorable embassage: to whom as also to his two successours, and his predecessor *Leo* 9. he was allway most deare, familiar and intrinsecall: and in the tyme of the other two who were before *Leo* 9. he was absent from *Rome*, being departed with *Gregory* 6. into *Germany*, wher he liued in a Monastery, vntill he was inforced by *Leo* 9. to accompany him to *Rome* agayne; yea three of these Popes were in a manner made by him, and *Alexander* 2. who was the last, liued almost 12. yeares after he was made Pope, wherefore all this tale of poysoning the Popes, appeareth plainly to be a meere fiction fraught with malice. And that of the Emperour is no better; for the danger which he escaped was attempted by one single man, & altogether vnknowen, who hauing gotten to the top of the Church with a great stone, fell downe himselfe and brake his necke, but that the Pope had any hand therein, is not affirmed by any, but by such authors, as were

Greg. 7.

Henry 4.

ready

ready vpon malice to affirme their owne ſuſpicions as certeyne, though they had no other ground at all.

Thus much of *Gregory* the 7. after whome M. *Downam* bringeth in *Innocentius* 4. and affirmeth that he *ſought to poyſon Conrade the Emperour*. But how falſe this is, appeareth ſufficiently by the narration of *Platina*, and *Cuſpinian*; the former affirming, that it was manifeſt, that *Conradus* was poyſoned by *Manfredus* his brother, who alſo had before murthered *Frederik* the 2. who was father to them both; the later alſo expreſſely affirmeth the ſame, and declareth the cauſe to haue byn, becauſe *Conradus* had a litle ſonne called *Conradinus*, by whom *Manfredus* feared, that if his brother *Conradus* had liued, he ſhould haue byn put by the ſucceſſion in all his Kingdomes: wherfore this ſlaunder of Pope *Innocentius* ſeemeth to be without any ground at all.

Innocentius 4. Conrad the Emperour. *Platin. in Innocen 4. Cuſpinian. in Conrado*

But M. *Downam* goeth on in the ſame manner, ſaying that *Clement 6. cauſed the Emperour Lewis of Bauaria to be poyſoned*, neither alledging authority nor other ground; the reaſon of which, for ought I can perceiue, is becauſe he had none. *Cuſpinia* telleth the maner of that Emperours death thus: *Ioan the Ducheſſe of Auſtria came out of Alſatia, returning into Auſtria, viſiting the Emperour, of whom she was moſt honourably receiued; who going away when Lewis went to Burgrania of Norimberg (with whom he was in loue) being merry & iocūd in a bāquet, feeling prickings about his heart, began to ſuſpect poyſon; wherfore riſing after his māner, to caſt vp the poyſon by vomiting (for taking poyſon often he cured himſelfe) he leapt from the table, ſeeking to vomit, and when he could not, going to hunt (that he might heat and ſtrengthen his body with motion, and labour) he found a huge beare, which he aſſayling manfully with a certeine violence, fell from his horſe, and bruſed his body grieuouſly* &c. Thus writeth *Cuſpinian*, by which it appeareth, that there is doubt, whether this Emperour was poyſoned or no; and if he were, his frend *Burgrania*, or ſome of her trayne might perhaps be ſuſpected; but that the Pope ſhould come in queſtion, there is no cauſe at all beſides hatred and malice, which being blind, falleth into a thouſand ſuch imaginations, and ſuſpicions, againſt all reaſon and conſcience.

Clemēs 6. Lewis of Bauaria. *Cuſpinian. in Ludouico.*

King Iohn of England. *See the VVarnword to Sir Frãcis Hastings. En ount. 2. c. 15.*

From *Germany M. Downam* cõmeth to England, and telleth vs, that *King Iohn was poysoned by a Monke, when the Pope had giuen sentence that he should be deposed*. This tale is at large refuted by the worthy author N. D. who sheweth that it is against all good and ancient histories, euen by the confession of *Iohn Fox* himselfe: and that which *M. Downam* addeth, that this happened, when the Pope had giuen sentence, that he should be deposed, is very false, for King *Iohn* two yeares before his death was reconciled to the Pope; who had also excommunicated the Barons, who tooke armes against him, and euen that namelesse author (whose history is called *Caxtons* Cornicle, of the printer) reporteth, that the Monk (whom he, against all other authors who liued in King *Iohns* tyme, sayth to haue poysoned the King) was not moued to that fact by any respect to the Pope, or his sentence (for this could not be since it was reuoked) but by a speach of the King himselfe, who had sayd, *that if he might liue halfe a yeare, he would make a halfe penny loafe of bread worth 20. shillings* &c. so that *M. Downam* mistakeh the matter in euery respect.

See Iohn Stowes Chronicle, in King Iohn.

Henry of Luxemburgh.

Wherefore let vs see whether he hath more reason in his next example of *Henry* of *Luxemburgh* the 7. Emperour of that name, whom he affirmeth to haue bin poysoned also by a Monk, *euen in the Eucharist, and that, as some report, by the appoyntment of the Pope*. But he telleth vs not who these (some) are: for both *Platina* and *Cuspinian* (who are not wont to spare the Pope in any thing) write expressely, that the death of this Emperour was attributed, by them who thought him to haue bin poysoned, to the *Florentines*: but of the Pope they bring not the least suspicion: yea *Cuspinianus* himselfe rehearseth some authors, who vpon diligent inquiry, and probable coniectures, flatly denied that the Emperour was poysoned at all, or at least not by this Monk, or rather Friar. His words are these.

Platin. in Clem. 5. Cuspinian' in Henrico 7.

Richard denieth, that he dyed by the poyson of the Friar preacher, but that he falling into an exceeding hoat ague, he ended his life in 6. dayes, and that his body appeared as if he had byn poisoned, by reason of the fulnesse & repletiõ therof: by which the testimonies of his sõne Iohn *King of* Bohemia, *& his brother* Baldwin *Archbishop of* Treuers

abe affirmeth, who made inquiſition in this matter, & a litle after: *another writer addeth, that this* Bernhardin (*or* Bernard) *was three ſcore yeares old, & addicted to the* Gibellines, *& commended to the Emperours familiar frendship by the Lords of* Montteltro (all which tooke the Emperours part againſt the factiō of the Guelps) *and that for this cauſe he was innocent. But they who followed the Emperour* Henry *to* Rome, *& wrote a Diarium or* Ephimerides *of all particulers, affirme, that this Mōk was ſuborned by the* Florentines, *with which agreeth the cōmō aſſertiō of the Chronicles, bringing* Ptolome⁹ *of* Suca *for their author, who liued in a māner in thoſe times.* Thus *Cuſpinian*, where we ſee, that this later opinion alledgeth no reaſon, nor grounded teſtimony as the former doth, and therefore may be thought to haue riſen vpō vulgar report only; which was cauſed by the ſuddennes of the Emperours ſickneſſe which notwithſtanding might come by many other occaſions, eſpecially in that diſtemperature of heat (for it was in the middeſt of *Auguſt*, and in *Italy*) to which the Emperour was not vſed.

And as for the other circumſtance which *Cuſpinian* addeth in his owne narration, that the religions man went preſently away, it cannot moue any much, who conſider, that in all prudency it was no time for him to ſtay among ſouldiours, there going ſuch a bruit, that he had poyſoned the Emperour. Well I am not now to defend religious men, among whom, no queſtion there may be ſome very bad, as wee ſee too euidently by the example of *Luther* and his followers; neyther doe wee deny this of the Popes themſelues, but there is no reaſon to accuſe them falſely, and without all ground, as *M. Downam* doth, who is not aſhamed likewiſe to auow, that *by the Pope* Parry *was ſuborned to murther Queene* Elizabeth *and ſo* (ſayth he) *was the* Iacobin *that murthered Henry the* 3. *King of France.* Concerning *Parry* he may read the ſame author which I alledged before, who proueth manyfeſtly, that Pope *Gregory* 13. knew nothing at all of *Parries* purpoſe touching the Queens murther, and therefore muſt needes be farre from ſuborning him to doe it. And the ſame is moſt certeine of *Sixtus* 5. who cannot be ſo much as ſuſpected to haue knowne any thing of King *Henries* death aforhand.

See the warnword encount. 2. c. 14. §. 15. Greg. 13. Parry. Sixtus 5.

forehand.

The massacre which M. *Downam* sayth was intended at *Florence*, seemed not to extend any further, then to the murthering of the two *Medices*, *Iulian* and *Laurence*, whereof the one escaped. But that this was done by the appointment of Pope *Sixtus* the 4. seemeth to be altogeather false: yea *Onuphrius* expressely affirmeth, that the Pope would not be acquainted with the particuler plot, but remitted the matter to others: only it is true, that he fauoured the contrary faction, there hauing byn some breach before betwixt him, and the *Medices*.

That which followeth of *Alexander* 6. hath more shew of truth, and yet M. *Downam* mistaketh this matter not a litle; for first no author affirmeth certeinly, that this Pope poysoned the Turks brother, but only that there were such suspicions and reports: secondly none of them affirme, that the Pope receiued those 200000. crownes of the Turk. Thirdly, though the history be true of this Popes being poysoned by his seruants, mistaking the poysoned wine, which his sonne had prepared for another; yet M. *Downam* seemeth not to haue read the history, by saying, that he was dispatched togeather with the rest; for only he and his sonne seeme to haue drunk of that wine; and his sonne being stronger, and perhaps also hauing drunk lesse, escaped. But for the matter it selfe, I graunt, that this *Alexander* was a very wicked man, and committed many cruelties togeather with other detestable crimes. And if his example will serue M. *Downam* to proue the Pope Antichrist, we must needes confesse our selues ouercome. But how vayne and childish this inference is, euery discreet Reader seeth, and Catholikes know very well, that Popes haue no priuiledge, but that they may sinne, and erre also, as priuate men; only Christ hath promised, that they shall not infect the Church with false doctrine; which notwithstanding would euidently so low, if as Popes they might erre in matters of fayth, and such doctrines as are proposed by them *ex cathedra*, for the instruction and institution of the whole Church.

Downam speaketh from the purpose.

That

That which *M* . *Downam* addeth out of *Iohn Bale* concerning *Paul* 3 . seemeth to be meere forgery: at least I am not so well read , that I can find so much , as any insinuation of any such crimes , but rather many forcible arguments to the contrary ; among which the least is not , the great credit and estimation this worthy Pope had in the whole Christian world , and especially with those two great Monarchs *Charles* 5 . and King *Francis* of *France* ; the former not disdayning to giue his daughter , who before was marryed with the chiefest *Medices* , to the Popes grand-child . But what need I vse arguments , since *M* . *Downam* bringeth none? And yet he is the accuser , and consequently ought to bring more then one sufficient testimony (into which number *Iohn Bale* cannot be admitted) especially against such principall personages in such foule and enormous imputations as these are ; as that this worthy Pope should haue poysoned *his owne mother , sister , nephew , sonne in law , 2 . Cardinalls , and one Bishop* ; and some of them for no other cause , but either for that he could not , or that he might not liue in most abhominable incest. That of the 2. Cardinalls and the Bishops inclining to the Ghospell is no lesse incredible then the rest , and in a manner ridiculous to be affirmed thus seriously without any proofe at all. *Paul* 3.

From these moderne Popes M. *Downam* returneth againe to the more ancient , bringing in that vnworthy fact of Pope *Stephen* 7 . whom he with others call the 6. who caused the body of Pope *Formosus* to be taken out of the graue , and hauing cut of the three fingers , which the Popes are wont to extend , when they giue their benediction (that is their thumb , the fore and midle finger) he caused the body to be cast into the riuer *Tyber* ; from whence it was taken by fisher men , and buried in *S. Peters* Church , to which the images and pictures of Saynts seemed to do reuerence . This is the true history as may be seene at large in *Cardinall Baronius* . *Steuen* 7.

Wherefore that , which *M* . *Downam* addeth concerning Pope *Sergius* 3 . that he tooke *Pope Formosus his body vp the 2 . tyme , and did cut of the three fingers . which Stephen* 7 . *had left* . is *Sergius* 3 .

much mastaken; though in this *M. Downam* is not much to be blamed, since that he hath *Platina* for his author for the most part; only he should not haue added, that *Sergius did cut of the three fingers which Stephen had left*; for *Platina* hath no such matter. Wherefore *M. Downam* seemeth to haue taken this out of *Luitprandus*, who indeed maketh mention of three fingers cut of by *Sergius*, and *Platina* only telleth vs of two cut of by *Stephen*, and consequently in all it seemeth that there were 5. cut of (for 2. and 3. make 5.) But yet the truth is, as *Cardinall Baronius* sheweth, that *Luitprandus* mistooke *Sergius* for *Stephen* as appeareth euidently by his affirmation, that *Sergius* immediatly succeeded *Formosus*; which is manifestly false, ther hauing bin no lesse then 6. betwixt them, wherof *Stephen* was the first, for he put backe *Bonifacius* his competitor: whertore only Pope *Stephen* did take Pope *Formosus* his body, or cut of his fingers. Neither can the narrations of *Platina*, and *Luitprandus* concerning this cutting off fingers, be concorded, which *M. Downam* endeuoureth to do, that the matter may appear more odious; for *Platina* telleth vs, that Pope *Stephen* did cut of those two fingers, *which Priests do vse in consecration*; and *Luitprandus* writeth, that *Sergius* caused those 3. fingers to be cut of, *quibus benedicere moris est*, with which blessings are vsed to be giuen: and euery man knoweth that in consecration and blessings the same fingers are vsed.

Platina in Stephano 6. & Sergio 3.

Luitprandus lib. 1. c. 8.

But to the substance of the obiection, I graunt that Pope *Stephen* delt tyranically and vniustly, shewing sufficiently that he came in rather by intrusion, then any lawfull election; for which cause, were it not for the consent of the Church, which to auoyd further inconueniences receiued him, he were rather to be accounted an Antipope, then a Pope; and the same is to be sayd of *Sergius* 2. who obteyned that dignity with greater violence. But these abuses of some particuler men, ought not to hinder or diminish the estimation of the dignity it selfe, or of those, who lawfully and canonically obteyne it, and vse it also vertuously: yea these bad examples giue vs iust occasiō to ackuowledge the particuler prouidence and

Euill Popes ought not to preiudice the good, nor the dignity it selfe.

and protection, which God vseth towards his Church, supplying these wants in the Pastours, by the vertuous disposition of the people: so that in these tymes when the danger was so great there arose neither schisme nor heresy in the Church, that it might plainly appeare to be no human industry, but the fauour and assistance of God, which in all tymes vpholdeth and maynteyneth the Catholike fayth and religion.

Thus much shall suffice by this occasion, for that other poynt concerning the disallowance of Pope *Formosus* his acts by *Stephen* 7. and *Sergius* 3. which were notwithstanding confirmed by diuers other Popes, belongeth not to this place; and therefore it is sufficient to say in a word, that *Stephen* and *Sergius* erred in a matter of fact, but not of fayth, as *Cardinall Bellarmine* declareth, to whom I remit those, who desire to be more particularly informed. That which *M. Downam* obiecteth next of *Boniface* 8. *Platina* relateth in these words: *Sunt qui scribunt Bonifacium hoc tempore Hermani cuiusdam corpus apud Ferrarienses iam viginti annis pro Sancto cultum, exhumari mandasse, ac comburi, habita de eius haresi quam diligentissima inquisitione. Hunc ego è Fraticellis fuisse crediderim, quorum secta tum maxime inualescebat.* *There are some who write, that* Bonifacius *at this time commaunded the body of one* Herman, *reuerenced among those of Ferrara 20. yeares for a Saynt to be taken vp and burnt, hauing made most diligent inquiry of his heresy. I thinck* (sayth Platina) *that this was one of those, who were called* fraticelli, *whose sect was then most rife.* Where wee see the reason, that Pope *Bonifacius* had for this fact.

Bellar. lib. 4. de Rom. pont. c. 12.

Platina in Bonifacio 8.

Bonifacius 8.

Neither can *M. Downam* take any exception there at, vnlesse he be loath to haue hereticks burned; in which he rather sheweth a guilty conscience, then alledgeth any reason; perhaps he thought it a great inconuenience, that after so many yeares, one who was held for a Saynt, should be found an heretick, and he hath reason, if he had byn accounted so in the whole Church, or had byn canonized by the Pope. But in a particuler Citty among priuate men, we thinke greater enormityes then this may be committed by ignorance. And yet we are beholding to Protestants in this respect; for their life and con-

uersation commonly is such, that we shall not be in any danger of esteeming them Saynts; whereas these other sought to be reputed religious men, professing powerty, and exclaming against all the Popes since *S. Siluester*, who was in *Constantin* the great his tyme, because thy liued not in powerty. But all this question belongeth to another place: only I must demaund of M. *Downam*, where he read that this *Hermannus had bin canonized for a Sayne*? And why he addeth 10. yeares to *Platina* his account? And if they proue his owne inuention, and addition, the Reader will perceiue, that he hath litle cause to beleeue him another tyme.

See Genebrard in Chronic.

The last example which M. *Downam* bringeth of *Vrbanus* 6. is true, for he supposed those 7. Cardinalls to be his enemyes, and to take part against him, not only with the false Pope *Clement* 7. but also with King *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who at that time was in warre with him; which if it were true, they were double traytours, & cõsequently might seeme to deserue very seuere punishmẽt. And yet the fiue, that were *put in sackes & drowned*, were first put to death after another mãner. And therfore perhaps M. *Downã* may find the seuerity, which other Princes vse against traytours to be as great, as this of the Pope was. And yet Catholike authors do not a litle mislike this Pope for his too much rigour, as well in this, as in his other proceedings. Now then M. *Downam* concludeth his discourse thus: *And this is some part of their behauiour among themselues; for of their cruelty towards the Saynts and Martyrs of Iesus, who is able sufficiently to intreat*? Thus he; where I am only to intreat the Reader to consider, that these Saynts and Martyrs are by the Pope accounted hereticks. And therefore he deserueth no blame in this behalfe, vnlesse they be either cleared from that detestable crime, or els the Pope be conuinced to vse them more hardly, then that heynous offence, which he esteemeth them to be most certeinly guilty of, deserueth: either of which I perswade my selfe M. *Downam* will scarce euer endeuour to do, because he seeth them vnpossibly to be proued: wherefore by all reason this his rude rayling against the Pope ought to be altogeather con-

Vrban⁹ 6.

See Ciacõ⁹ in Vrban. 6. in fine.

temned

temned.

3. Thus wee haue ſeene, what M. *Downam* hath bin able to obiect againſt the Popes concerning cruelty; now he will adde ſome thing concerning their *perfidious trechery, and trayterous practiſes* (as he calleth them) *eſpecially toward the Emperours, and Princes of Chriſtendom*. Where firſt he obiecteth, that the *Pope bereaued the Emperour of Greece of his dominions in the weſt*; which is vere true. But the Pope had authority to doe ſo, & whether the Emperour deſerued it or no by his hereticall impugnation of holy Images, I ſhall not neede to diſcuſſe now; but certeinly it is falſe, that the Emperors are the ſouereigne Lords of the Popes, and the contrary is rather true in ſuch caſes, as this was; wherefore here is neither treachery nor treaſon, but rather a conſtant, and zealous defenſe of the Catholike fayth by lawfull meanes. And the like is to be ſayd in generall of the Popes proceedings in like manner againſt ſome Emperours of the weſt, and other Princes. And if by this meanes way were made for the *Turk*, or any other inconuenience did enſue, it is not attributed to the innocent parry as is manifeſt; wherefore leauing theſe generalityes, let vs examine what M. *Downam* obiecteth in particuler.

Whether ſome Popes haue vſed treachery or not.

Depoſitiõ of Princes

First, then he bringeth in *Gregory* 7. and *Paſcalis* 2. their proceeding againſt Henry the 4. where wee willingly acknowledge, that he was *excommunicated, his ſubiects abſolued from obedience to him*, and another Emperour elected at the firſt, not by the conſent of Pope *Gregory*, though afterward he was confirmed by him: his ſonne alſo did riſe againſt his father rather of his owne accord, then at the Popes perſwaſion; to whom at length the father was inforced to appeale. But his ſonne and the Princes of the Empire made ſmall account therof, appoynting him a peremptory time of triall, to which he would not ſtand; but rather prepared himſelfe to wage warre; for he died not in pryſon, as M. *Downam* affirmeth, but at *Liege*, which citty togeather with *Cullen*, and others ſtood for him, and diuers Princes inclined to take his part. It is alſo falſe, that any were *ſuborned by the Pope to murther him*.

Gregory 7. Henry 4.

and his sonne, who brought him into the greatest difficulties and straites, expressely declared his mind to the contrary, yea openly protested, that if his father would submit himselfe to the Church, he would likewise put himselfe vnder his obedience.

The deniall of Christian buryall to his body for 5. yeares, proceeded from the excōmunication, in which he died without absolutiō; before which he could not according to the Churches lawes, be admitted to haue a tomb in any sacred place. In this tyme notwithstanding he was inclosed in a coffin of ston, and by his sonnes permission carried to *Spire*, who afterward also obteined of the Pope (being informed by some *German* Bishops of his repentance before his death) that he might be buried with great pompe and solemnity: wherefore in this narration I cannot see any thing, which maketh against the Popes, supposing the authority, which they haue in some cases to proceed against Christian Emperours, and Princes by excommunication and deposition; which *M. Downam* perhaps believeth not, but that it is sufficient, and yet he bringeth no other proofes; wherfore this shall suffice for this matter, since that it is not my intent to examine the controuersyes, which haue risen among Princes, and to determine whether all the Popes proceedings in this behalfe haue bin iust or no; for this would require a long discourse; and besides it were not to our purpose, since that Catholiks make no doubt, but that the Pope may some tymes mistake the matter.

If any be desirous to be satisfied herein, let them peruse the histories; & they shall find that the Popes wanted not their reasons, as in the examples which *M. Downam* bringeth it is euident, that Otho 4. or 5. began first with the Pope, iniuriously dispossessing him and others of their lawfull dominions, and therefore he is commonly condemned by all authors, euen those who were no great frends to the Pope. Likewise *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, for of him *M. Downam* speaketh, tooke part with heretiks against the Pope, yea created an Antipope, burnt the Popes picture, and did many other things, which might seeme to deseru

Otho 4.

Lewis of Bauaria.

serue those censures, which those three Popes *Iohn* 22. *Benedict* 12. and *Clement* 6. inflicted vpon him: but as I sayd, I meane not to enter into this controuerly, and therefore I will wholy passe ouer in silence the other examples which M. *Downam* alledgeth of *Lewis* 12. King of *France*, our King *Iohn*, and *Henry* 8. and Queene Elizabeth; only I must put the Reader in mind, that the poysoning of the Emperor *Lewis* by *Clement* 6. which M. *Downam* repeateth here, was refuted before; as likewise that of the Popes suborning any to murther the late Queene; for a little before *Parry* was named, and now none at all is specified

That which M *Downam* addeth concerning the translation of the Empire from the Greekes to the *French*, and from the *French* to the *Almains*, wee willingly also acknowledge, and make no doubt, but that the Pope might doe it very lawfully, which the euent it selfe so beneficiall to all Christendom, doth in great part declare. The same also may be sayd of the crowning King *Pipin*, and deposing *Childerik*. Neither is it inconuenient to admit, that the Pope by this meanes prouided for the peace and quiet of the Church, from which his owne cannot be separated. I shall not need to mention some slanderous tearmes, and ridiculous circumstances, which M. *Downam* inserteth in his narrations, both because they were not much to the purpose, though they were true, and chiefly, for that he alledgeth no author at all for them, neither can I find any, and therefore they must returne to M. *Downam*, vntill he telleth vs where he had them.

But what shall wee say to that, which followeth? for M. *Downam* is not ashamed to tell vs, that *Alexander* 3. *fearing the power of Frederike Barbarossa, by Hartmannus the Bishop of Brixia perswadeth him to go with his army into Palestine for the recouery of the holy land: the Pope in the meane tyme sendeth a picture of the Emperour to the Soldan perswading him, that by some secret ambushmēt, he would apprehend him, which happened accordingly. The Emperour being released by the Soldan after his returne cōmeth to Venice, where the Pope, as you heard before, treadeth on his neck &c.* Thus he. And as for this last of the Popes and Emperours meeting at *Venice*, wee

Alexāder 3.

Frederike Barbarossa.

wee haue examined it before. The rest seemeth to be a mere fiction; since that this Emperour is not recorded to haue gone into *Palestine*, or those parts, vntill after Pope *Alexanders* death, at which tyme he was continually victorious so lōg as he liued, & died not in any battaile, but was drowned in a riuer as he was bathing himselfe. I should be glad to know *M. Downams* author, because it seemeth vnpossible, that he should make such a formall tale himselfe, vnlesse it be by some grosse mistaking: ther be many circūstances in it also which seeme altogether vnprobable; for what good would ye Emperours picture haue done ye *Soldā* he cōming with a potent army? or how could the Pope direct him to made a secret ambushmēt? And finally what needed all this diligence in the Pope, since it was euident, that the *Soldan* would be forward inough of himselfe? finally, I wonder that neither *Cuspinian*, *Platina*, *Genebrard*, nor others make any mention of this enterprize, nor of the Emperors imprisonment and releasse, they being very diligent in relating other accidents of farre lesse importance.

Another Frederike

The next obiection of the other *Frederike* hath some more colour, and therefore *M. Downam* quoteth for it his trend *Bal. ex Mario, & Matth. Paris.* to which he might adde *Cuspinian* also in great part; for all these write in fauour of the Emperour against the Pope; but other, whome *Genebrard* alledgeth and followeth, togeather with *Platina* and *Ciaconius*, lay all the fault vpon the Emperour, and commend Pope *Gregory* very much. And if the Reader will peruse them all, he shall find, that this Emperour was first excommunicated by *Honorius* 3. for iniustly inuading the Popes dominions; which censure *Gregory* the 9. only renewed, as well because the Emperor continued the same course, as also because he would not take his iourney into *Palestine*, according to his owne vow made to that effect; the tyme prefixed by *Honorius* the 3. being now expired, and the Soldan hauing prepared an huger army, then euer before, by reason of the breach betwixt this Emperor Frederike and the Pope. And at length (as *M. Downam* sayth) being inforced perhaps more by the

Gregory 9.

Pope

Pope, then moued by his owne deuotion and conscience (as appeared by his returning twice from that iourney without cause, as most men deemed) he made such a truce with the *Soldan*, as the Pope easily perceiued to be both impious, and feygned: for he permitted the *Saracens* to possesse our Lords Church in *Ierusalem* togeather with certeine castles, by which they might easily recouer all againe vpon his departure, as in effect they did.

Wherfore no meruaile, though the Pope were nothing satisfied with the Emperours letters & messengers; but that he slew them, or gaue out, that the Emperour was dead, is altogeather improbable; and it seemeth to be only *M. Downams* malicious suspition, that the Popes intention was to haue the Emperour dispatched by the infidels; especially since it is manifest, that he was very earnest, that others whom he loued very dearly, should go, as well as the Emperour: who notwithstanding was most able to preuayl against the *Soldan*; and in the meane tyme by staying, and proceeding as he did, gaue him no small encouragement. Neither can *M. Downam* shew, that the Pope seysed vpon any Cittyes either in *Apulia*, or *Sicily*, vntill he knew of the Emperours bad proceeding with the *Soldan*, and that he would presently returne, or els was assaulted by the Emperours forces left in Italy: at which tyme the Pope had iust cause to feare his violence, which he had so much experienced before. M. Downams malicious suspitions.

That also of the Popes writing to the *Soldan*, that he should not restore *Ierusalem* to the Emperor, seemeth to be a meere fiction, though *Cuspinian* relateth it: but *Platina* speaketh only of letters which the Pope wrote to the Christian soldiours in Asia to take heed of the Emperours treachery; which some seeme to haue reported, that they were written to the *Soldan*, as *Cuspinian* affirmeth; who likewise only maketh mention of a new excommunication against the Emperour; *Platina* and others relating only, that the Emperour required absolution from his former censures; which notwithstanding the Pope refused to graunt, vnlesse he would make satisfaction for the domages done by him to the Church of *Rome*, and re-

store also such Cittyes, and townes, as he vniustly detayned; and for this cause, and not for his absolution were those 120000. ounces of gold payed. By all which narration the Reader may see, how partially *M. Downam*, and such other vse to relate historyes in hatred of the Pope.

Whether some Popes haue offended against chastity.

4. Thus much for cruelty and treachery; now the Reader must be content, to see such matter examined, as were more fit to be passed ouer in silence; but yet briefly somewhat must be sayd, least all should seeme to be true, which *M. Downam* doth obiect. And yet I will procure as neer as I can to vse that moderation, that no ears (though neuer so chast) may be offended; first then concerning that rule: *Si non castè, tamen cautè*; if it hath only this sense, that those, who cannot, or rather will not conteyne from sinne, ought at least to take heed of giuing scandall, I do not see, why it is not true, and ought to be obserued; in which manner those words, which M. *Downam* attributeth to Pope *Nicholas* 1. may be expounded; but yet I cannot find any such saying of his extant. There is a canon, which goeth in his name, but indeed belongeth to *Nicolas* 2. forbidding any to heare such a Priests Masse, as were knowne vndoubtedly to keep a *Concubine*; but the Epistle out of which it is taken, seemeth not to be extant, if *M. Downam* can help vs to a true copy of it, wee shall be glad, and if those words should chance to be in it, which I do not belieue, they could haue no other sense, then those of *Petrus Damianus*, in his Epistle to the Pope, concerning this very matter: *Si malum hoc esset occultum, fuerat fortasse vtcumq; ferendum*; if this euill were secret, it were perhaps to be borne withall in some sort. And besides *M. Downam* insinuateth another matter, as though he supposed it to be lawfull for Priests to marry, which no doubt Pope *Nicolas* vtterly detested. And by this it appeareth what small reason M. *Downam* hath for his lewd surmises in generall. Now let vs come to particulers.

Dist. 32. c. Nullus.

Apud Baron. anno Christi 1059.

The fable of Pope *Ioane* is not worth the mentioning, hauing byn long since exploded; and besides *M. Downam* bringeth no proofes, nor answereth to those of

Cardinall

Cardinall Bellarmine to the contrary. Of *Sergius* 3. we ſpake before, ſhewing that he came to be Pope by intruſion, a certayne Earle to whom he was allyed promoting him perforce, and therfore no maruell, though he liued accordingly. That which *M. Downam* addeth of Pope *Laudo*, he would ſay *Lando*, is falſe, neither is he charged with any ſuch crime by any good author. Wherfore *Iohn* 10. whom *M. Downam* called 12. ſeemeth to haue had no defect in his birth; but was indeed promoted firſt to be Archbiſhop of *Rauenna*, by Pope *Lando*, at the requeſt of *Theodora*, who though ſhe were a very wicked woman, yet had great authority and power in the Citty: the occaſion why ſhe laboured ſo much for this *Iohn*, was her inordinat loue toward him, which cauſed her in a manner to enforce him to condeſcend to her will, and that to the end he might be continually preſent with her, ſo ſoone as Pope *Lando* was dead, ſhe violently by intruſion made him Pope; for which cauſe he was rather an Antipope, vnleſſe perhaps the common conſent of the Church, which made no reſiſtance, might make him legitimate; eſpecially after a victory againſt the *Saracens*, in great part obteyned by his meanes, and ſome other publick ſignes of a penitent mynd, which he gaue, but not long after by Gods iuſt iudgment, he was impryſoned, and ſtrangled by *Marozia* (who was daughter to the ſayd *Theodora*) and her husband *Vvido* Earle of *Tuſcan*: ſo that theſe Earles and their fauorites (of which *Theodora* was alſo one) intruded and depoſed Popes at their pleaſure in thoſe dayes. And therfore no meruayl, though *Iohn* 11. who was this *Marozia* her baſtard by Pope *Sergius* 3. was intruded by her alſo, but yet we read not of any infamous vice in this Pope; and within two yeares he was caſt into pryſon by *Albericus* his baſe brother (who was ſonne to the ſame *Marozia* by *Adelbert* Earle of *Tuſcan*, and ſo died miſerably within few yeares.

Cardinall Bellarmine. — Sergius 3. — Lando. — Iohn 10. — Iohn 11.

Of *Iohn* 12. I haue ſpoken before, he was ſonne to this *Albericus*, and his father being dead, ruled all, as he had done; but not content with his ſecular power, aſpired alſo to the Popedome; and ſo (as he eaſily might)

Iohn 12.

Secular Princes are not the chiefe Gouernours in Ecclesiasticall affayres.

made himselfe Pope, and proued accordingly, that is, a most vicious and lewd man. But here by the way *M. Downam* may note, that in those dayes this new deuice of making secular Princes the chiefe gouernours, and heads in Ecclesiasticall affayres was vnheard of; for otherwise this *Iohn* might haue taken a wife, and liued in all ease and pleasure, without impeachment of his reputation, and yet haue byn more then Pope euen in Church-matters also.

All the other *Iohns*, which *M. Downam* nameth, or can name, cannot be proued guilty of any such crime, the last only excepted, who was no lawfull Pope, there being two other, which made the same clayme at that tyme; for which cause also he was deposed as well as the other two; and therfore he ought not to be numbred among the lawfull Popes. Of the 3. *Benedicts*, which *M. Downam* nameth, the first and the last are falsly accused by him; and the last, who *M. Downam* calumniateth most, is by *Platina* and others called *Doctissimus & optimus Pontifex*, a most learned and exceeding good Pope; wherfore *M. Downam* must bring vs better proofes, then his bare word, before we can beleiue him in such slaunderous reports.

Iohn 24.

Benedict 12.

Benedict 9. was indeed a very euill Pope, as we haue seen in part before; but he was intruded by another of the Earles of *Tuscan*, called *Albericus* also, whose sonne he was, and whose ambition was so blind, that he was not ashamed to make him Pope, when he was but 12. yeares old: wherfore he were to be numbred among the Antipopes, had not the consent of the Church seemed to establish him. *Christopher* also who followeth in *M. Downam* came in by force and violence, with which he was likewise within few moneths put out againe; but that he was guilty of this crime, which *M. Downam* obiecteth against him, I cannot find.

Benedict 9.

Christopher.

That which he addeth of *Calixtus* 3. is doubtfull; for there were two of that name; the one an Antipope set vp by the Emperour *Frederike* agayne Pope *Alexander* 3. and if he speake of him, we will not much contend, though he might with more ground be accused of other vices.

Calixt. 3.

The

The other *Calixtus* 3. who liued long after, was truly Pope, and a very good one; hauing many excellent and rare vertues; and when he died hauing byn but 3. yeares and litle more Pope, he was 4. ſcore yeares old; by which *M. Downams* obiection appeareth to be very improbable, if not impoſſible; but we are put in mind by the number of 77. at which yeares *Calixtus* was made Pope, of our Sauiours precept to S. *Peter*, and therfore I pray God forgiue *M. Downam* this, and all his other ſinnes. Of *Gregory* 6. and 7. I haue ſpoken twice already, ſhewing, that there is no reaſon at all to beliewe the calumniations and ſlaunders obiected againſt them; yea the latter, who is moſt inueighed againſt, did moſt ſeuerely prohibit and puniſh this vice, in ſo much that by ſome he is accuſed of being to rigorous therein; though indeed this is very falſe alſo.

But let vs heare *M. Downams* ſuſpicion. *Gregory* 7. (ſayth he) *as alſo Victor* 3. *were very inward with* Maud *the Counteſſe*. And it is very true, that this worthy woman aſſiſted theſe good Popes exceedingly in the publike affaires of the Church. But that they were guilty of any ſuch crime, as *M. Downam* ſuſpecteth, euen that falſe *Cardinall Benno*, was aſhamed to auouch, though he be moſt ſhameleſſe and virulent, in obiecting other ſlanders againſt this holy Pope. But it is inough for *M. Downam*, that ſome vicious perſons, whome this Pope reſtrained, muttered ſome ſuch thing againſt Pope *Gregory*, becauſe they ſaw this vertuous Counteſſe *Mathildis* ſo confident, and faythfull to him; for that there were ſuch, *Lambertus* a good hiſtoriographer of theſe tymes reporteth. Gregory 7.

But if *M. Downam* tooke this obiection out of him, why could he not ſee the ſolution, which immediatly followeth; for thus that author writeth. *But to all, who know any good thing, it was more manifeſt and cleare then the light it ſelfe, that theſe things which were ſayd, were falſe; for both the Pope led ſo excellent, and Apoſtolicall a life, that the ſublimity of his conuerſation, did not admit the leaſt ſpot of any euill rumour, and the Counteſſe in that moſt populous citty, hauing ſo many followers, could not haue concealed any ſuch crime, which ſhe had committed. The ſignes alſo and wonders, which were often wrought by the Popes* Lambert. Scafn. an. 1077. apud Baron. ano 1074. 351.

prayers, and his most feruent zeale for God, and the Ecclesiasticall lawes, did sufficiently defend him against the poysoned tongues of detractors. Thus ne; much more might be sayd of this matter, and of the great good, which not only this vertuous Countesse, but the Empresse *Agnes*, and *Beatrix* the Duchesse did, concurring with Pope *Gregory* for the good of the Church; of which two latter M. *Downam* may suspect as much, if it pleaseth him; for they continued allway constant to the Pope, though the Empresse was as nigh a kin to *Henry* 4. with whome this Pope had all his conflict, as a mother is to her sonne. But I haue bin to long in this; though indeed the excellent vertues of those worthy personages require a larger discourse.

But I will conclude with a peece of an Epistle which Pope *Gregory* the 7. wrote to this noble Countesse, *Mathildis*, that M. *Downam* may see, what they treated of, euen in their most secret conferences. *VVe must* (sayth this holy Pope) *o my daughter, fly to this singuler Sacrament (of the Altar) and desire it as a singuler medicine; I haue therefore* (O *most deare daughter of S. Peter*) *procured to write these things, that thy sayth and confidence in receiuing our Lords body may increase*: and a litle after: *what shall I say of the Mother of our Lord, to whom I haue principally committed you, and will neuer cease, vntill we see her* (as *we desire*) *whome heauen and earth continually prayse, though they cannot doe it, as shee deserueth; notwithstanding be vndoubtedly perswaded of this, that by how much shee is higher, better, and more holy, then any other mother, by so much is she more mercyfull, and fauorable toward conuerted sinners &c.* Thus writeth this deuout Pope.

Lib. 1. Ep. 47. 50. apud Baron. anno 1074 12. 13.

And this may suffice for Pope *Victor* also, against whō nothing can be layd, but that this honorable Countesse assisted him, as she had done Pope *Gregory* in the publik affaires of the Church; & much might be added of his great religiō and vertue both before and after he was Pope; but this place permitteth no such discourse. Where M. *Downam* findeth that, which he reporteth of *Innocentius* 4. and 8. I know not, for of the former ther is no likelyhood of any such suspicion; the latter had 2. children aliue indeed, whē he was made Pope, but they were then mariageable,

Victor 3.

and

and not long maryed; but what reason hath *M*. *Downam* to call these, or the other, who were dead, bastards, since that they were borne in lawfull matrimony, as *Ciaconius* expresselv relateth? I hope *M*. *Downam* will giue the Popes leaue to marry before they be Priests; since that he professeth himselfe one, and yet would thinke it no disgrace to be maryed, and haue children; yea he affirmeth himselfe to be a Bishops sonne; but you must know, that he meaneth a protestant Bishop.

That which he addeth of this Pope *Innocentius* 8. that he vsed to paint his face, is neither extant in any good author, nor any way probable, and much lesse in this Pope, then in any other; he being particulerly commended for his fauour and comely stature, as also for his conuersation; in which respect one author calleth him, *omnium qui fuere pontificum mitissimum & suauissimum*; *the most mild and sweet Pope that euer was*. But omitting this, it is certeine, that both these Popes were very good men, and farre from all such imputation, as *M*. *Downam* seeketh most iniustly to lay vpon them. The next tale which *M*. *Downam* telleth vs of *Nicholas* 3. and *Martin* 4. is without any ground at all, and it should seeme that some deuised it to gull simple people withall, taking occasion of *Nicholas* his being of the *Vrsin* family; the truth is, that he was very eminent in many vertues, but chiefly in this of chastity, in so much as he was commonly accounted a virgin, and called by the Syr-name of *Compositus*, that is, composed, or modest. Pope *Martin* also, who succeded him, declared his sanctity by many manifest myracles presently after his death: wherefore *M*. *Downam* tooke his marke much amisse in these two Popes.

Innocentius 8.

Nicholas 3.

Martin 4.

That likewise which *M*. *Downam* sayth concerning the nephews of *Bonifacius* 8. is altogeather false, and without ground; for they are expressely noted to haue bin the sonnes of his two brethren, and one sister; neither can I find the least imputatiō in this kind layd vpon this Pope. Neyther doth there appeare any iust cause, why *M*. *Downam* should deale so vnmercifully with the 5. *Clements*; for though one or two of them were Antipopes, yet

Bonifacius 8.

yet neither they, nor the other can be charged with any such crime. Wherefore I can but meruele vpon what ground M. *Downam* could frame that grieuous accusation against the foure first; for with the last *Clement* 8. he is more mild, only affirming, that *he hath bin no better then he should be*; which I suppose M. *Downam* will confesse of himselfe, or of his father, or any other protestant Bishop, or Minister whatsoeuer.

Clemēt 8.

It is strange what improbable tales M. *Downam* telleth without any proofe at al; of which sort that is he addeth of *Pius* 4. whole death is noted to haue bin exceeding pyous; for he receiued all the rytes, & Sacraments of the Church, and accompanied those who assisted him in the accustomed prayers of the Church, called the Commendation of the soule to God, thanking them afterward for that last labour taken in his behalfe: which quyet and serene mynd sheweth a farre different disposition from that, which M. *Downam* obiecteth; finally, there is no cause at all, why M. *Downam* should conclude this Catalogue with *Sixtus* 5. for he was neuer suspected nor charged with any such fault. Thus then the Reader seeth, how iniustly most of these Popes are slaundered; for excepting those 4. or 5. which were manifest intruders, none of the rest can be iustly touched in this respect, and diuers of them were most eminent in the contrary vertue, being indeed admirable examples of modesty and chastity.

Pius 4.

5. By that which hath hitherto bin sayd, the discreet Reader will easily perceiue how impudent and false that is, which M. *Downam* affirmeth heer. I take not his words to be worth the rehearsing. And yet I could not chuse but smile, to see a protestāt Minister obiect to Catholik Priests *idlenesse, fulnesse of bread, & abundance of pleasures*; since that euery ma knoweth who knoweth any thing, that Catholiks haue full as many emploiments in euery respect as Protestants, and in prayers, and fastings there is no comparison, as is manifest. Besides, the Popes can hardly be idle, hauing busines through the whole Christian world; and being commonly old men, they need not so much fasting and penance as M. *Downam* perhaps doth. But to this he may

Whether some Popes haue cōmitted incest or the sinne against nature.

may anſwere, that he hath another more eaſy remedy by marriage, which the Pope doth reiect. And in this there is no doubt, but that he and his fellowes haue ſome aduantage, in reſpect of their pleaſures and appetites. But ſuppoſing he can be content with that, how will *M. Downam* doe, when his wife dyeth? how when ſhe is ſicke? how when he is abſent from her? ſurely in theſe occaſions, this remedy will ſtand him in very litle ſteed; yea, he will receiue this harm thereby, that he will find the want of it more then others who neuer vſed it, and though I hope he will thew himſelfe a man, and be content to take other remedies, when he cannot haue that; yet certainly he will find more difficulty therin, then other, who are accuſtomed to be without it.

Proteſtant Miniſters haue more difficulty in being chaſt, then Catholike Prieſts.

And if *M. Downam* meaſuring others by himſelfe doth think it impoſſible to abſteine from that remedy any long tyme, firſt he had need to procure that his wife may not ly long ſicke &c. Secondly this is to abridge the force of Gods grace without all reaſon, and there want not thouſands among Catholicks, who know the contrary by moſt certayne experience; yea may find more contentment without compariſon in perfect purity and chaſtity, then *M. Downam* doth pleaſure in that remedy, ſo highly eſteemed by him. And yet conſidering his weakneſſe I blame him not, for vſing it in honorable marrimony, but only for preferring it before virginity, or imagining that this is impſſioble to any, who wil endeauour to obteyne it by prayer, and other lawfull meanes; in which moſt certeinly he ſheweth himſelfe at leaſt to be one of thoſe, which S. *Paul* nameth *animales homines*, ſenſuall people, who perceiue not what belongeth to Gods true ſpirit. That which followeth of Idolatry is a fond ſuppoſition, with which perhaps ſome people may be caryed away for a tyme; but others cannot be ignorant, how euidently, and how often Catholike writers haue conuinced, that the worſhip which we do to Saynts, or Images, is free from that imputation; wherof ſomething alſo hath byn ſayd before vpon diuers occaſions, and now there is none why wee ſhould enter into that diſcourſe

 againe

againe.

Wherfore let vs see, what M. *Downam* hath more to
Iohn 13. & 23. obiect against some particuler Popes: first then he accuseth *Iohn* 13. and 23. of incest. But we haue shewed before that the former was an intruder, and the later an Antipope, wherfore this obiection deserueth no further answere. *Alexander* 6. was no doubt a wicked man, but yet this which M. *Downam* obiecteth here, seemeth to haue no greater co-
Alexander. 6. lour of truth, then only that *Alexander* before he was Pope had such a daughter named *Lucretia*, whom afterward he preferred to honorable mariage: there were also two Cardinall *Mendoza's* in this Popes tyme, but that either they were so lewd, or that the Pope consented to any such matter as M. *Downam* relateth, is altogeather vnprobable, and the rather becawse the Pope and Cardinalls were Spanyards, who are knowne generally to detest that abhominable sinne against nature.

That which M. *Downam* addeth of *Paulus* 3. seemeth
Paulus 3. to haue no other ground at all, but only hatred and malice; which is much confirmed by that, which followeth
Pius 5. of that most religious and holy Pope *Pius* 5. of whom there can be no cause of suspicion. Of *Sixtus* 4. I haue spoken
Sixtus 4. before, shewing that there is no mention of any such building made by him, as M. *Downam* speaketh of; perhaps it
See c. 5. *nu.* 12. is a mistaking, for this Pope is sayd indeed among other his pious workes, to haue assigned an habitation for children of both sexes, which are by *Onuphrius* and others called *expositi*, by which words perhaps M. *Downam* was deceiued; thinking that they had byn exposed to filthynesse; but the truth is, that they are so called, becawse they are presently after their byrth being christened, layd out by their parents, who haue not meanes to prouide for them, and therfore expose them to the charity of others who will take compassion and care of them. And this might M. *Downam* haue vnderstood by the nurses, which as *Onuphrius* testifieth came to the Pope with these exposed orphans. Wherfore this was a great deed of charity in this Pope, as also that which followeth, that he comm aunded mayds, which were mariageable to bemarryed with an

an honeſt dowry; and appoynted ſome, who were more religious to ſerue the ſicke; prouiding alſo more decent habitations for the better ſort, by reaſon of their ſickneſſe and miſery.

By all which it appeareth plainly, that this Pope was a great fauourer and aduancer of all chaſtity, and other vertues; which is not a litle confirmed by the great and particuler deuotion, which he allway had to our Bleſſed Lady, and therfore that which *M. Downam* addeth concerning the leaue to be giuen by him to the *Cardinal* of *S. Lucy* for the 3. hoat moneths of the yeare, is altogeather incredible, eſpecially if we conſider, that this *Cardinall* was a *German* of *VVirtzburg*, who commonly are not much addicted to that ſinne againſt nature; and beſides in *Germany* the heates are not very exceſſiue. Wherfore *M. Downam* naming the 3. hoat moneths, ſeemeth to inſinuate, that this Cardinall dwelt in *Rome*, or at leaſt in *Italy*, which notwithſtanding is not true; for as *Ciaconius* expreſſely noteth, he came to *Rome* but the 12. of *October* 1479. and departed thence againe the firſt day of *May*, and was in *Germany* in the yeare 1480. where he was drowned 2. yeares after, the 12. of *September*, as he was paſſing the riuer *Danubium* in a ſmall boate. This tale therfore ſeemeth to haue bin inuented by ſome malicious, though ſeely *German*, who thought it ſufficient, that there was ſuch a *Cardinall*, to adde all the reſt of his owne head. M. Downams impudency:

And by this the Reader may iudge of the reſt, for which *M. Downam* bringeth no author nor proofe at all, and ſome of them haue bin ſpoken of before euen in this very Chapter; and the other are partly ſo incredible, and partly ſo immodeſt, as they are not fit to be preſented to the view of any ciuill Reader. And ſurely I can but admire *M. Downams* audacity, who durſt commit ſuch things to print, without alledging ſo much as any probability, or coniecture of their truth. How many Popes ar canonized Saints

6. Now it ſeemeth that *M. Downam* beginneth to want matter, for that he repeateth only ſome few of the foreſayd Popes, affirming them to haue byn *moſt foule monſters (as ſome of our owne writers call them) compounded of theſe and*

other horrible crimes; but this is mere rayling against all reason; let him shew, which of our writers calleth *Sixtus* 4. *Clement* 7. *Paul* 3. by any such name? *Iohn* 24. was an Antipope. *Alexander* 6. a wicked man; in which respect he is blamed by Catholikes, but yet I remember not any, who calleth him by that name; which is rather giuen to Antipopes and intruders, then to a lawfull Pope, though he be vicious. Besides, as we haue seene, Pope *Alexander* 6. though he were bad, yet cannot be charged iustly with diuers things which M. *Downam* obiecteth against him. After this M. *Downam* obserueth, that though in a manner *all the Popes for the first 600. yeares are accounted Saynts; yet since for these 1000. yeares very few are esteemed such.* But what is this to the purpose? they are not Saynts, must they needes therfore be Diuells, and Antichrists? This only sheweth how exact the Church is in the Canonization of Saynts, since that among so many Popes, as haue byn all this time, only 13. are declared for such, though not a few of the other also haue bin very vertuous and excellent men, which might easily be proued.

But now it may suffice, that among them all M. *Downam* could find so few, which he durst accuse, and most of them also very falsely, as we haue seene. And as for heresy, apostasy &c. which he sayth *are common to them all*, for which he remitteth himselfe only to his former proofes; I leaue it to the Readers iudgment, who hath with indifferency perused my answere to all that he hath bin able to say hitherto.

M. Downams petitio principij.

7. Though some absurdities might be noted in the repetition which M. *Downam* maketh of former obiections in this place, yet I thinke it better not to detayne the Reader in things of no great importance: wherefore I will wholy omit all that which he supposeth here concerning the adoration of the most Blessed Sacrament, the Crosse, Crucifix, and Images of the most holy Trinity the Blessed Virgin, and other Saynts their Images and reliques, all which as you see are matters in controuersy betwixt vs and Protestants, and therefore were not to be taken as graunted: and the same is to be sayd of orders and

and religions allowed by the Pope, which M. *Downam* ſuppoſeth alſo to be by-paths, and not the direct way or path to perfection, but obiecteth nothing againſt them; wherefore it were altogether from my purpoſe to diſcuſſe theſe queſtions at this preſent. Neyther can I attribute theſe idle repetitions, and ſuppoſitions, which M. *Downam* vſeth, to any thing els, but only to wãt of matter, valeſſe he wanteth witt and iudgment likewiſe.

8. Notwithſtanding he goeth forward in theſe ſuppoſitions, and out of them inferreth any thing at his pleaſure, and not content with this, he calumniateth the Popes, affirmig *that they extenuat the ſinne of fornicatiõ, as though it were but a venuall ſinne, and reckon adultery among the leſſe and lighter offences, whiles they diſpenſe with theſe ſinnes, and giue men leaue to commit them without controlement, or els aſſigne vnto them ridiculous punishmeuts*; where you ſee he taketh on greeuouſly; but if you aske him, how he will be able to proue all this, he only quoteth in the margent a chapter of the Canon law, which he vnderſtandeth not; for in it *Alexander* 3. declareth, that thoſe of the Clergy ought to be ſuſpended from their orders, or depoſed, and for euer remoued from the miniſtery of the Altar, if the quality of their ſinne deſerueth ſo great a puniſhment, and they be lawfully conuicted therof before their Biſhop, either by their owne confeſſion, or other ſufficient proofe. Whether the Popes be cauſes of vncleãe ſinnes in others. *Cap. Aſſi Clerici, extra. de iudic.*

Secondly he likewiſe declareth, that after ſentence of ſuſpenſion, or depoſition giuen againſt them, if they be penitent, and performe ſuch pennance as is required of them, the Biſhop may in ſome ſinnes diſpenſe with them, ſo that they may exerciſe their orders as before; and the Pope expreſſeth in particuler the ſinne of adultery, in which, as alſo in others, which are leſſe then it, the Biſhop may thus diſpenſe. This is in effect all that is conteyned in this Chapter, which may make any thing to M. *Downams* purpoſe; for the other two points of diſanulling not only the iudgment, but alſo the examination of Clergy men in ſecular tribunalls, and the admonition which the Pope giueth, that not euery one, who is depoſed, ought to be deliuered to the ſecular iudge, can Downam miſtaketh his Authors.

giue him no great aduantage.

But let him take it altogeather, where doth he find that fornication is but a veniall sinne? are all sinnes which are lesse then adultery, presently veniall? likewise it is false, that adultery is reckoned among the lesse offences; it is rather excluded from them: for the lesse sinnes, which the Pope speaketh of, are only called so in respect of adultery, and not because they are absolutly litle in themselues. Wherefore adultery is among Catholiks, especially in Clergy men, accounted a great sin, and greater then some sacriledge, as the glosse expressely noteth in that very place; but yet it is also true, that there are other sinnes, which exceed Adultery, as Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy, Periury, Murther &c. and in none of these can a Bishop dispense with a Clergy man who is suspended from his orders; where againe *M. Downam* bewrayeth his grosse ignorance, thinking that this dispensation is to giue men leaue to commit these sinnes without controlment; whereas it is expressely declared in this Chapter, that this dispensation cannot be giuen but post *peractam pœnitentiam*; *after penance is performed.*

Adultery a great sinne, and especially in Clergy men.

By which it may appeare, that they are penitent, and purpose to amend; for which cause also the glosse noteth vpon the last wordes of this Chapter; that if they should appeare to be incorrigible, they were to be excommunicated, and deliuered to the secular court; by which it is also manyfest, that the punishments, which are assigned to these sinnes, are farre from being ridiculous, and if they were nothing els, but only suspension, or deposion, they were not to be esteemed very light. Let *M. Downam* consider, whether he would account it but a iest, to be put out of his Ministry, so that he could neither preach nor baptize, nor read publike seruice &c. for he hath no reason but to thinke, that Catholike Priests esteeme as much of their functions, as he doth of his.

To colour these calumniations, in the next place *M. Downam* obiecteth a truth, viz. that marriage is forbidden vnto all Catholike Clergy; by which he imagineth that there is a gap opened to all vncleanesse, and this he

he will needes proue by the authority of *S . Bernard* : *Tolle de Eccleſia* (ſayth he) *honorabile coniugium , & thorum immaculatum , nonne reples eam concubinarys , inceſtuoſis , ſeminiſtus , mollibus , maſculorum concubitoribus , & omni denig genere immundorum?* Take out of the Church honorable mariage , and the bed vndefiled , and do you not fill it with keepers of Concubines , inceſtuous fellowes , Gomorrheans and Sodomites , and in a word with all kind of vncleane perſons . Thus *M . Downam* out of *S . Bernard* ; where truly I doe much admire , with what face , or conſcience , he can deale in this manner ; for I cannot conceiue him to be ſo ignorant , that he knoweth not that *S . Bernard* was a religious man and a Prieſt himſelfe , who had vowed and obſerued abſtinence from all women , had perſwaded many to enter into religion , and erected 160 . monaſteryes : and how then is it poſſible , that he ſhould write theſe words in *M . Downams* ſenſe ? Doth he not expreſſely in the Sermon going before , treating of the ſame men and matter , affirme , that the Church forbiddeth the dwelling togeather of men and women in thoſe who haue vowed continency ? and in the end of that very Sermon , which *M . Downam* quoteth , he aſſigned this meanes to diſcouer the Heretikes , againſt which he diſputeth , that the men be ſeparated from the women , to take away their vnlawfull cohabitation , ſince that they profeſſed themſelues to haue vowed chaſtity .

Ser. 66. in Cantic .

M . Downams impudency .

Let any indifferēt Reader peruſe only theſe two Sermons , and he will wonder with me , how *S . Bernard* could be ſuppoſed to write any thing againſt the cōtinēcy of Religious perſons , and Prieſts ; and leaſt there might be any doubt of his conſenting fully with vs in this poynt , in another place he maketh particuler mention of Subdeacons , affirming it to be vnlawfull for them to marry . But what meant *S . Bernard* then in the words alledged and obiected by *M . Downam* ? In that place he diſputeth againſt certayne clowniſh , ignorant , and contemptible Heretikes , who in this poynt of mariage were in the contrary extreme to the Proteſtants , for they condemned mariage altogeather ; againſt which hereſy of theirs S .

Epiſt. 203 .

Bernard

Bernard disputeth in those words; after which he presently addeth. *VVherefore choose which thou wilt of these two, that all these monsters shallbe saued, or that the number of those who shallbe saued, must be brought to the fewnesse of those who are continent*: and then he goeth forward shewing the absurdity of both these assertions; where you see, that he standeth in the middest betwixt Protestants and these heretikes; admitting both continency in some, and marriage in the most part, which is the very same that the Chruch teacheth; and in the very same manner doth he distinguish betwixt the abstinency and fasting of the Church, and that which these heretikes vsed; approuing the one against the protestants, and condemning the other against these heretikes.

S. Bernards Doctrine agreeth fully with that of Catholiks now.

But though in this they were so opposite to protestants, yet in other doctrines they agreed very well, as in admitting Clergy men and Priests to their promiscuous conuenticles of men and women; and as S. *Bernard* noteth, *intonsos & barbatos*, with long hayre and beards, contrary to the vse of the Church in S. *Bernards* tyme, in which fact they seemed to acknowledge, that these Church men had no greater obligation to absteyne from women, then all other commonly haue; they likewise were enforced to admit the Church to be in a manner hidden, and restreined to some particuler places: against which S *Bernard* alledgeth our Sauiours words: *that a Citty placed vpon a hill cannot be hidden &c.* concluding thus: *Habet & semper habebit integram Christus hæreditatem suam, & possessionem suam terminos terræ*; *Christ hath and allway shall haue his whole inheritance, and possession the bounds of the earth.*

Matth. 5.

After this he reciteth some other heresyes, which they maynteined; *as that infants are not to be baptized; that wee should not pray for the dead, for they believed not, that the fire of Purgatory remayned after death, but that the soule being free from the body, passeth either to rest, or to damnation: likewise that wee ought not to ask the suffrages of the Saynts who are departed*; *finally that Bishops and Priests being sinners, were neither fit to giue, nor receiue Sacraments.* In all which errors, how well they agree with *Anabaptists*, *Protestants*, and *VVicklefists*, is not vnknowne to

to any, who is acqaynted with their doctrines. Thus then we see, that this place of *S. Bernard* maketh nothing at all against Catholikes, but much against Protestantes,

The rest which *M. Downam* bringeth, are mere calumniations, for (as I haue shewed before) the Pope mainteyneth not any stewes, though he permitteth them for auoyding greater inconueniences, as *S. Augustine* declareth; and though it were true, that Pope *Paulus* 3. or any other exacted some penalty of them, yet it were no signe of fauour, but rather of punishment and restraynt, as is manifest, and appeareth by that, which is practised in diuers contries concerning players, who pay the Magistrate a certeyne stipend. But for that of the Pope, *M. Downam* bringeth vs no approued author, as neither for that infamous relation of our English Abbeyes and religious houses: he quoteth only *Iohn Bale* who deserueth no more credit, then an open and most impudent aduersary doth. Wherefore that libell also, which is brought out of *Matth. Paris*, deserueth no credit at all, for we doubt not, but that in all ages there wanted not such malicious fellowes, as are wont to be the authors of such rumors, and *Matth. Paris*. was ready inough to take vp any thing against the Pope. And yet I deny not, but that both Popes, and religious haue had their faults and great abuses: neither doth this make any thing at all against the verity of our Catholike fayth, vnlesse *M. Downam* will ioyne with the former heretiks, in affirming that the Pastors of the Church reteyne their places and authority no longer, then they keep themselues free from sinne. But if he only wisheth, that such personall crimes might be reformed, he shall find no good Catholike of any other mind, so that all be done with order, and without perturbation of Gods Church.

See c. 5. n. 12.

Paul 3.

9. Wherefore let vs see, what more displeaseth *M. Downam* in the Popes: he accuseth them of *insatiable auarice* in which he is very bitter in words, but exceeding ridiculous in proofes; for he rehearseth some chiefe points of doctrine, and will needes suppose them to be feygned

Whether the Popes be coueteous.

through couetousnesse: *as for example* (sayth he) *that Peter was ordayned of Christ, to be Monarch of the whole Church: that to him was committed the right of the spirituall and temporall monarchy* (at least indirectly) *that in this Monarchy the Pope succeedeth Peter, as Christs Vicar generall, as the vniuersall Bishop, or the Lord of the whole earth.* But if M. *Downam* will free the Popes from this imputation of auarice, vntill he be able to shew, that any of these doctrines rightly vnderstood, is faygned, they shall haue no great cause to feare his malice; wherefore the truth is, that this calumniation falleth vpon our Sauiour himselfe, who as *Cardinall Bellarmine* and other Catholike Authors haue euidently and often conuinced, gaue all this authority to Saint *Peter*, and the other Popes; and consequently, whatsoeuer they haue obteyned either of Princes or Prelates only in this respect, hath bin giuen them vpon very good grounds.

S. Lewis King of France.

And therefore it is not probable, that *S. Lewis* the 9. King of *France* would complaine, that his Kingdome had bin miserably impouerished by the Popes exactions; M. *Downã* notwithstanding boldly quoteth this Kings *constit. an. 12: 8. tit. de taljs*; but if he were well examined it is very probable, that he tooke this assertion out of *Catalogus testium*, which indeed mentioneth such a Constitution, but yet agreeth not in the yeare, for it expressely affirmeth, that *S. Lewis* made this decree something after that yeare; and the *Magdeburgenses*, who relate the same more amply, explicate this (something) to haue bin iust 40. yeares, for they put it in the yeare 1268. and yet they seeme to haue taken it only from the same Catalogue, at least they name no author; wherefore they may if they please, acknowledge themselues beholding to *Cardinall Bellarmine*; who hath found in a manner the same in *Nicolas Gilius*, but yet sheweth withall, that he could not find it in the Pragmaticall sanction of *S. Lewis*, which is set forth in the end of the 6. Tome *Bibliothecæ sanctorum Patrum editæ Parisijs anno* 1589. and therefore rather thinketh, that it was added since in hatred of the *Roman Church*; and he confirmeth the same by the deuotion which this holy King allway shewed to the Pope, as *Paulus Aemilius*. and

Catalogus testium.

Magdeburgenses cēt. 13. c. 7.

Bellarm. in Apol. c. 6.

Roberti

Robert Gagninus relate, who make no mentiō of this conſtitution; and finally by that exhortation which this Sayne vſed to his ſōne vpon his death-bed, wiſhing him *to be allway addicted and deuout to the Roman Church, yielding obedience to the Pope, as to his ſpirituall Father.*

Neither is it probable, that this good King would reſtrayne the Pope in Eccleſiaſticall affayres, whom he was ſo willing to aſſiſt with his owne temporall eſtate, yea and with his perſon alſo; for all this complaint, that *M. Downam* maketh in this place, is only concerning Church goods, of which notwithſtanding there can be no doubt, but that he hath the chiefe adminiſtration, and conſequently may ordeine euery particuler Church to contribute in due proportion, for the ſupplying of the wants and neceſſityes of the whole. And if *M. Downam* would caſt as iuſt an account of the Popes expences, as he taketh of his receytes, perhaps he would find no great ouerplus at the years end; for he is not ōly to ſēd his Legats into all countries, and to mainteine his officers as well in them, as in his owne court; but likewiſe to help and releue ſuch as are in diſtreſſe & pouerty through the whole world; and eſpecially in theſe countries, and places wher he is moſt hated and perſecuted, as at this preſent we ſee and experience in our owne, and other nations infected with hereſy; and the ſame appeareth in like māner among infidells, for whom he prepareth and prouideth Preachers. The Popes exceſſes very great.

He contributeth alſo many tymes in no ſmall quantity to the warres againſt the Turke, and other common enemies of Chriſtendome; for which cauſes he graunteth not ſeldom, very great penſions out of Eccleſiaſticall liuings, euen to ſecular Princes themſelues: wherefore he had need of no ſmall ſummes to maintaine all theſe expences. And yet I doubt not, that if the matter were well examined, thoſe of *Paris*, who complained ſo greeuouſly againſt the Pope to their King *Lewis* 11. would be taken tardy in many particulers. And ſure I am, that there follow not fewer abuſes, by putting of Church liuings into ſecular Princes hands, to whom they doe not belong. *Lewis* 11. King of France.

then by leauing them in the Popes diſpoſition, if not wholy, yet chiefly, as his place and office requireth. And this King *Lewis* himſelfe ſeemed to perceiue; for he wrote his letters to the *Pariſian* Senate in the Popes fauour; and though they at that tyme reſiſted both King and Pope, reſpecting (as it may ſeeme) rather their owne intereſt, then either conſcience or the common good, whatſoeuer pretenſes they made to the contrary; yet King *Francis* the firſt made an end of this buſines, by conference and compoſition with Pope *Leo* 10. who declareth not vpon vncertaine rumours and coniectures, but vpon certeyne knowledge and experience, obteined by the abſolutions and rehabilitations, which he and his predeceſſors had giuen in ſuch caſes; that from the tyme of *Charles* 7. who firſt brought in this abuſe, vntil King *Francis* the firſt, who tooke it away, there had bin many enormous crimes of Symony, periury, and other vnlawfull, and dangerous courſes committed by meanes thereof.

See Gagnius in Lewis 11.

Leo 10 *in Cõcil. later an. ſeſſ.* 11.

Charles 7. King of France.

And this may ſuffice for all that *M. Downam* bringeth to this purpoſe; for he laboureth only to ſhew, that reuenewes, which the Pope receiueth out of all countryes are very great: Which I meane not to deny; neither do I ſee, wherefore *M. Downam* or any other ought to enuy him for them, ſince that they are eyther free obligations, or lawfull impoſitions, as is manifeſt; and if he exacteth more, then is neceſſary, or imploieth not that which he hath allway ſo well as might be wiſhed, the burthen will light vpon his owne ſoule, and others haue no cauſe to complaine, ſince he doth them no iniury.

The adminiſtratiõ of Eccleſiaſticall goods belogeth to the Pope.

But I would willingly know of *M. Downam*, how we might be aſſured, that either ſecular Princes, or particuler Biſhops, would beſtow theſe ſũmes of money in better vſes, if they were deliuered vp to them; ſurely experience rather proueth the contrary. But though it were otherwiſe, yet this is no ſufficient reaſon, to deprine the Pope of his right, vnleſſe we will open a gate to the vter ouerthrow and perturbation of all common wealthes, by making it lawfull for any to vſurp another mans poſſeſſions, if either he vſeth them not well, or the vſurper conceiueth

reiueth, that he could imploy them better. I shall not need to speake in particuler of that rent, which our ancient and deuout Kings offered and payed to the Pope many hundreth yeares since, commonly called Peter-pence; for no English man can be ignorant, that as they were at the first a free oblation, so the continuance therof was not interrupted, vntill the tyme of King *Henry* 8.

See the Catholike Deuine in his answer to Sir Edward Cookes reportes. chap. 6. demonst. 8.

The donation of *Constantine* would require a larger discourse, then this place affordeth; neither doth it appertayne to this controuerfy, wherin we treat of the Pope, as he is the spirituall Prince of the Church; neither do I thinke, that M. *Downam* will deny, that the Popes title to his temporall dominions in *Italy*, is iust and warrantable; especially, since it is euident, that Charles the great and other Emperors haue confirmed it, who notwithstanding did not take vpon them to giue the Pope those possessions, but only to restore him that, which was his owne before, and iniustly vsurped by others. By which proceeding of theirs, that donation of *Constantin* is not a litle confirmed, as *Cardinall Baronius* noteth, though perhaps the writing therof that is extant, be not authentical; which notwithstanding many good authors admit and defend, as may be seene in *Pamelius*; neither doth M. *Downam* make any obiection at all against it.

Peter-pence:

Baron. an. 324. n. 117. & seq.

Pamel. annot. in Tertul. lib. de pudicitia. c. 13. §.

10. There remayneth yet a word to be sayd concerning the penitentiary taxes, which M. *Downam* speaketh of, in which he must knowe, that they may be lawfully imposed in diuers respects. 1. As almes for penance, when the partyes either are not able, or vnwilling to fast, and pray, or at least more able and more willing to giue almes; for there be many who will not sticke to say with the Farmer in the Ghospell, *fodere non valeo, mendicare erubesco I cannot digge, and I am ashamed to begge*: to whom no mercyle, though the Pope sayeth with our Sauiour; *facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis*, and in another place, *quod superest date eleemosynam, & omnia munda sunt vobis*; *make vnto you friends of the mammon of iniquity*; *and that, that remayneth giue almes, and behold all things are clean vnto you*. For as *S. Augustine* sayth, *almes deedes profit not a man, that hath a will to continue in his sinnes, but they*

Luc. 16.

Luc. 11.

S. Augustin. Enchirid. cap. 70.

are to be done for a propitiation to God of former offences: secondly this money is exacted for the sustentation of the Pope, and his officers, who are to be maintayned according to their place and dignity. 3. when the Pope dispenseth in his owne lawes (for in the law of God or nature he cannot dispense, as hath bin shewed before) he may very lawfully (and it is also fit that commonly he should do so) lay some other more easy burthen vpon his neck, who seeketh to be deliuered from another, which is more heauy; and this commutation and composition is commonly in almes; because such as haue other circumstances, as are required, are loath to make any other satisfaction, & the Pope also may in reason be more willing to accept of this, because it may be more profitable and beneficiall for the good of the Church; for (as I haue shewed before) all this money goeth not into the Popes coffers, but many tymes both it, and much more with it is employed in pyous workes.

What *taxæ Cancellariæ* are, & the reason of them.

Finally, in the other taxes, which M. *Downam* calleth *Cancellariæ*, there is yet lesse difficulty, because they are only exacted in Ecclesiasticall liuings, the administration of all which belongeth chiefly to the Pope, he may reserue pensions, or a certayne some for once, as he shall see it most expedient and necessary for the common good, and in all this matter of Church liuings and the like, he may goe further then any other, because many things concerning them are only forbidden by the Churches positiue lawes, in which he may dispense with himselfe, as well as with others, vpon iust motiues and due considerations. Now then for M. *Downam* to suspect that he vseth this his freedome, or enacteth the lawes themselues only in a coueteous policy, is such a malicious deuise as may easily be extended to all the actions of any Prince whatsoeuer; and therfore deserueth no other answere.

M. Downams malicious suspicions.

That libell likewyse which he attributeth to a *notable Canonist*, quoting in his margēt *Ioan. Monachus*, is of the same sort; and therfore I will only note, that M. *Downam* tooke his marke amisse; for the author of *Catalogus testium*, out of which it seemeth to be taken, expressely testifieth,

Catalogus testium lib. 14.

that

that he durſt not certeinly affirme, when the booke, wherin he found theſe verſes, was made, though he believeth (ſuch was his loue to the Pope) that it was written many yeares agoe; but yet he very carefully aduiſeth his Reader, that he did not ſet downe the name of *Ioannes Monachus*, becauſe he thought him to be the author of this writing, but becauſe there was mention made of him in this ſpeach: wherfore M *Downam* may ſee, that it is not good truſting to titles in Proteſtant authors, but they muſt be examined to the very end, for many tymes they make a ſhew to ſay that, which yet is ſo manifeſtly falſe, that they dare not auouch it indeed. Downam miſtaketh his authors.

11. M. *Downam* goeth ſtill forward in this foolery, telling vs very grauely of many other doctrines, which he ſuppoſeth to haue byn *faygned through couetouſnes: as that the Pope hath all lawes in the cloſet of his breſt*; which notwithſtanding only ſignifyeth that the Pope may interpret the law of God, and declare and diſpenſe in his owne, which latter is common to him with all other Princes: but let vs heare M. *Downam* who addeth many other; *as that the Pope is the ſupreme Iudge in all cauſes and controuerſyes*; *that in him lyeth appeale from all Iudges whatſoeuer, and that immediatly*; both which according to the doctrine of Catholike Deuines is only vnderſtood in Eccleſiaſticall affayres, or in ſome particuler caſes, wherin temporall controuerſies concerne the good of the Church.

The next doctrine which M. *Downam* bringeth, is that, *there is a purgatory*, and that by prayers and Maſſes and good workes the ſoules may be deliuered from thence, as alſo by the Popes indulgences and pardons: likewiſe he bringeth the doctrine of the Popes Iubilyes, and his canonizing of Saynts, his promiſing of remiſſion of ſinnes, and eternall life &c. his doctrine of merits and works of ſupererogation, of inuocation of Saynts, of adoration of Images and reliques, of pilgrimages, *and in a word all the doctrines almoſt, which be peculiar to the Pope and Church of Rome*: what ſhould a man ſay to theſe abſurd fooleryes? the manner is ſo ridiculous, that it prouoketh to laughter, but the matter reſtrayneth that affection, eſpecially if we conſider, Downams petitio principij.

sider, how many seely people are caryed away with such idle tales. But is *M. Downam* a scholler? he professeth himselfe a Doctour; but surely this manner of arguing discouereth no learning. Doth he thinke it lawfull to say any thing vpon his owne bare assertion? Can he be ignorant, how all these difficultyes are largely discussed by Deuines, and conuinced to be matters of fayth? If he like not their proofes, why goeth he not about to answere them? But the poore man is frantick with heresy, and therfore imagineth, that whatsoeuer he sayth, is Ghospell. I must intreat the discreet Reader not to expect any further discourse of these matters in this place; for I am only to answere *M. Downams* arguments, but here we haue nothing but his affirmation; which is sufficiently refuted with a denyall.

And as for the malice which he ioyneth with it, concerning the Popes intention in mainteyning these doctrines, it sheweth very well, that his charity is correspondent to his fayth. The authors likewise, which he bringeth are of no authority at all, being at least schismaticks, if not worse; though their words (if they be theirs) may be drawne to a good sense, if we vnderstand them to reprehend the faults of some, and not to speake against the authority it selfe, or the state of religious orders; yet they are neither so ancient, or otherwise qualified, that they deserue to be much defended, since they spared not to write so grossely. But to conclude this point, I must admonish my Reader, that I admitted before those taxes, which M. *Downam* spake of, only vpon his bare credit; which is not a litle cracked, by that which he affirmeth here, that the Pope *is payed for his pardons*; which notwithstanding is notoriously false, since that in a great part of indulgences, there is not any almes at all required; but only prayers and the vse of Sacraments; which is probably to be supposed also in dispensations, and absolutions, though these being more priuate, are more subiect to such calumniations.

Theodoric. Nicm. Petrus Ferrarienſ. Abbas Vrſpergenſ.

12. Thus you haue heard, how *M. Downam* hath byn able to proue, the Pope to be that man of sinne, of whom

whom S. *Paul* ſpeaketh. And I doubt not but any modeſt Proteſtant will bluſh, to ſee ſuch great outcryes and clamours againſt the Popes vpon ſo little ground; for if you take away M. *Downams* fond ſuppoſitions concerning the vntruth of Catholike doctrines, and his fooliſh ſuſpitions of the Popes ſiniſter intention in maintayning them, there is nothing left of moment, but ſome very few perſonall defects and faults; conſidering the multitude of good Popes; in ſo much that it were no eaſy matter to proue, that the Princes of any country whatſoeuer, or the heades of any family, or the Magiſtrates of any Citty, and much leſſe the Miniſters of any nation or Prouince, are able to cleare themſelues in ſuch ſort, as the Popes innocency may be declared; as likewiſe their eminent vertues, and heroicall actions tending to the good of Chriſtendome do farre ſurpaſſe thoſe of any other degree whatſoeuer.

The Popes no greater ſinners then other men.

And yet it is true, that they are men, and haue their defects, and ſinnes, as other men haue; but to affirme that they exceed all other herin, ſo that they deſerue to be called *antonomaſticè, that man of ſinne*, is no leſſe ridiculous, then malicious, and conſequently M. *Downam* will neuer be able to make amends for this moſt iniurious calumniation; and yet he goeth forward affirming that the Pope is alſo *the child of perdition, in that ſenſe that Iudas is ſo called*; which he proueth no otherwiſe then by ſuppoſing out of his former proofes that he is *the man of ſinne*: wherfore I ſhall not need to ſay any more therof; ſince that the Reader will eaſily perceiue, how farre, and in what degree either the one, or the other agreeth to the Popes, as to any other ſort of men, among whom there be alway ſome bad. *Ioan.* 17. 12.

Whether the Popes be out-lawes or lawleſſe perſons.

But leauing this, M. *Downam* hath found in his conceipt an inuincible argument againſt the Pope, but indeed a moſt notable example of his malicious folly. S. *Paul* among other propertyes, which he declareth of Antichriſt, nameth him alſo ὁ ἄνομος, *ille iniquus, that wicked one*, or (as Proteſtants read) *the*, or, *that wicked man*; M. *Downam* tranſlateth it *the outlaw, or lawleſſe perſon*, taking his aduantage of the *Greeke* word: and indeed we vſe the word *lawleſſe*,

to signify one, who careth for no law: and therfore the annotation vpon the *Geneua* testament is not to be misliked, *that word for word*, it might be translated, *that lawlesse fellow, that is to say, he that shall tread Gods law clean vnder his foot.*

How the Pope is aboue all human law.

But this would not serue M. *Downams* turne, because he knew very well, how highly the Pope esteemeth, and how carefully he mainteyneth Gods law; wherfore he insisteth most vpon that word *out-law*, because it seemeth to him, that it wilbe an easy matter for him to shew, that the Pope is aboue all human law; by which he will make simple people, who are caryed away with vayne shewes, believe, that the Pope is the *out-law* of whom S. *Paul* speaketh, because he is not bound so strictly to any human law, but that vpon iust causes he may dispense therin. All which is certeinly most true, and followeth necessarily out of the greatest, and highest authority vpon earth, which Christ gaue vnto him; for as a lawfull King in his Kingdome, is not bound by his owne, or his predecessors lawes, and much lesse by those, which any inferior Magistrate hath ordeyned, and yet in this respect deserueth to be more reuerenced and esteemed, but ought in no wise to be called or accounted an *out-law*, or a *lawlesse follow*; so likewise the Pope is not to be calumniated in regard of his eminent place, vnlesse it could be shewed, that either it is not due vnto him, or that he exceedeth his commission giuen to S. *Peter* and his successors by our Sauiour himselfe.

The Pope in respect of his eminent dignity & authority ought to be reuerenced, not calumniated.

Neither is it sufficient for M. *Downam* after his wonted manner, to suppose this to be so, and then make what inferences it pleaseth him; for in this sort any lawfull Prince whatsoeuer may soone be made an *out-law*, or a *lawlesse* person, by such sawcy companions: wherfore it shall not be necessary to examine all M. *Downams* allegations; both because most of them haue byn explicated before, and also for that it is euident, that they speake only of lawfull dispensations in human lawes; and if some *Canonists* may seeme to speake absurdly, the fault will either fall vpon themselues, or rather proceed from the Readers vnskilfullnesse in that profession; which as well as other

Canonists haue their peculier trearmes of art, as well as all other sciences.

science,

ſciences hath certeyne peculiar phraſes proper to the profeſſors therof, which ſound not ſo well in other mens eares. But in effect their meaning only is, that the Pope may diſpenſe in ſome caſes vpon iuſt occaſions in all human lawes and obligations, and likewiſe declare, expound, and interpret the law of God, and the holy Scripture; and that his authority dependeth immediatly of God, and therfore he can neither be iudged, nor depoſed by any other.

And this might ſuffice in anſwere of all, that M. *Downam* bringeth in this place: but yet for more ſatisfaction I will explicate ſome allegations, which may ſeeme of moſt importance, or to conteyne moſt difficulty; of which ſort that Canon of *Innocentius* 3. ſeemeth to be, where the Pope affirmeth, that according to the fullneſſe of power he may *de iure ſupra ius diſpenſare*, diſpenſe lawfully aboue law: but if the matter, which Pope *Innocentius* ſpeaketh of, be knowne, this difficulty ceaſeth; for he only affirmeth, that he might diſpenſe in that law, which hath commaunded, that prebends or benefices be not prouided, before they be vacant; which, as is manifeſt, is only decreed by the the Popes owne law; aboue which no doubt he may lawfully diſpenſe; by reaſon of the plenitude and fullneſſe of his power, by which he is aboue all Biſhops, and the Councells themſelues. *Ex tran. de conceſſ. præben. c. propoſuit.*

How the Pope may diſpenſe aboue law.

The next difficulty may ſeeme to be in that ſpeach of *Zabarella*, *that the Pope hath bin made beleeue, that he may do all things, euen vnlawfull things, and that he is more then God*. But firſt if this teſtimony be taken out of *Catalogus teſtium*, which rehearſeth not *Zabarella* his owne words, but only a briefe ſumme of his booke *de Schiſmate & Concilio*, and M. *Downam* tranſlateth not the words of the *Catalogus* well: for it only affirmeth, that many flatteres had perſwaded the Popes, *quòd omnia poſſent, & ita facerent quicquid iuberet, etiam illicita, & ſupra Deum efferrentur*: where we find not, that the Popes *were made beleeue, that they are more then God*, but only that in *Zabarella* his opinion, they did extoll themſelues aboue God; which he ſeemeth chiefly to affirme, becauſe, as the ſame *Catalogue* theweth, he thought, that the lawes of Councells *Catal. teſtium. lib. 19.*

The Pope is aboue Councells

a Councell were in such sort the lawes of God, that the Pope could not dispense in them; which proceeded from that other errour of his, that the Councell is aboue the Pope, which with diuers others this *Zabarella* holdeth. And therfore it is no marueyle, though one impression of this booke of *Zabarella* be forbidden, vntill it be corrected, as *Possevinus* noteth. But yet the truth is that *Zabarella* neither affirmeth that the Pope was perswaded, *that he is more then God*, as *M. Downam* sayth; nor that he extolled himselfe aboue God, as *Catalogus testium* reciteth his words, but only that he was perswaded to do vnlawfull things, *& sic plus quam Deus*, and consequently more then God himselfe; who doth only lawfull things, and cannot sinne; all which *Zabarella* speaketh in his owne erroneous opinion.

I shall not need to say any thing of *Iohn* 23. because *M. Downam* alledgeth no author, and besides seemeth to speake of the schismaticall Antipope; and finally he might in many occasions answere some importune and busy fellowes, with those words, *Am not I Pope?* for perhaps they found fault without cause, as *M. Downam* were like inough to do. The glosse which affirmeth, *that in those things which the Pope will, his will is vnto him for reason*; attributeth no particuler thing to the Pope, but that which is common to him and all other Princes, as appeareth by his citation of the ciuill law, *Instit. de iure natu. §. sed quod principi*, and the meaning seemeth only to be, that a Prince is not allway to declare a reason of his doings to his subiects, but sometymes it is sufficient to signify his will, and pleasure; which no doubt is true, otherwise their authority would stand them in litle steed, if their subiects would obey them in nothing, except they were first conuinced with reason.

Iohn 23.

Extr. de transit. Epis. c. Quanto in glos.

How the Popes will is vnto him for reason.

The rest which followeth is common to all Princes in like manner, and hath byn heretofore discussed. And yet I will not stick to stay a litle in that speach, which *M. Downam* so often repeateth, and insisteth vpon so much, that *the Pope hath all Lawes in the closet of his brest*; for which he citeth now a text out of the Canon law, which will clear the matter sufficiently: the title of the Canon is thus: *A new constitu-*

conſtitution of a Prince taketh away a former being contrary, although the Prince expreſſeth it not: but it doth not take away ſpeciall cuſtomes, and reaſonable ſtatutes, vnleſſe he doth expreſſe them. The Canon it ſelfe is of Pope Bonifacius 8. who writeth thus: *Although the Pope, who is to ought to haue all lawes in the cloſet of his breaſt, by making a later conſtitution, be knowne to reuoke a former, although he make no mention of it, notwithſtanding, becauſe he may be probably ignorant of the cuſtomes and ſtatutes of ſpeciall places, and ſinguler perſons, theſe being matters of fact, and conſiſting in fact he is not vnderſtood to derogate from them in any thing, ſee that they be reaſonable, by a conſtitution newly published by him, vnleſſe this cauſion be expreſſed in it.* Thus writeth the Pope. And now I would willingly know of M. *Downam*, why the Pope, as well as other Princes, ſhould not be ſuppoſed to know all laws that pertayne to him? and what better reaſon can be giuen for this difference betwixt the abrogation of lawes, and of particuler cuſtomes and ſtatutes, then this, which the Pope giueth? I doubt not but that if any lawyer come to ſee this obiection, he will ſmyle at M. *Downams* blindſoldneſſe, and vnskillfull folly.

de conſtitutionibus c. licet in ſexto.

There remayneth yet one difficulty, whether the Pope may be accuſed or iudged or not? in which there is no doubt, but that by way of admonition, and fraternall correction, he may be reprehended, ſo that due reſpect vnto his dignity, & other circumſtãces be obſerued; wherefore all the queſtion is whether any haue authority to accuſe or condemne him in iudgment. And in this ſenſe it is alſo certaine, that he ought not to be accuſed or iudged of any, becauſe vnder Chriſt he is aboue all; and thus are all thoſe gloſſes to be vnderſtood, which affirme it to be a great ſinne to accuſe or iudge the Pope. All this notwithſtanding is to be vnderſtood, ſo long as he falleth not into manifeſt hereſy; into which (whatſoeuer M. *Downam* ſayth) Catholiks do not abſolutly deny, but that the Pope may fall, though ſome few think the contrary probable; for in this caſe *ipſo facto* he ceaſeth to be Pope, and conſequently the Paſtors of the Church may both iudge him and puniſh him, and ought to prouide the Church of another chiefe Paſtour.

Whether the Pope may be iudged or not.

See Bell. l. 2. de ſummo pontif. c. 16. & ſeq.

This is all the priuiledge, that wee graunt to the Pope; by which the Reader may see, how absurdly M. *Downam* alledgeth many of his authorityes; as first that Canon *Non nos*; togeather with the glosse, out of which he taketh many particulers; but mistaketh them in a manner all; as first, when he alledgeth out of it, *that it were no better then sacriledge to call in question the Popes fact*, the glosse on-

Dist. 40. Non nos. c ly affirmeth, that in doubts, we ought to presume well of all Priests, and much more of the Pope; in which case to dispute, that is to presume or iudge euill of him, were *instar sacrilegij*, like sacriledge, that is mortall sinne, which is much increased by the dignity of him, whom we iudge euill of without iust cause; by which M. *Downam* may see, in what a pittifull plight his soule is, in this respect. And by this the Reader may also perceiue, how fouly he falsifyeth this glosse, when he affirmeth out of it, that *either the Pope or Priests are to be presumed good, when it is apparent, that they haue committed any sinne*; for the glosse expresly in that case affirmeth the contrary out of *Hug.* and only denieth, that the Popes may be accused in iudgment and affirmeth that their actions are to be interpreted in the good part only, whē they are such, *quæ possunt æquè torqueri ad bonum vel ad malum*, which may equally be drawn to good or euill; in which case also the glosse bringeth those examples of *Sampſō* & the rest; not that the Pope is to be excused, whē his sinne is manyfest, and as M. *Downam* falsely glosseth; but that he is to be excused from sinne, when the circumstance, out of which it appeareth is not euident; and so is that obiection, which *Iohn de Parhisijs* mentioneth to be interpeted also, or els to be reiected, as it is by that author; to whome notwithstanding M. *Downam* attributeth that asserion in the worst sense, which it can haue. Thus much for the glosse.

Iohn de Parhisijs de potest. reg. & papali c. 23.

Now the text it selfe is so plaine a testimony against M. *Downās* calumniatiō, that I can but wonder, how he had the face to obiect it. For thus it beginneth against certeine schismatikes in Pope *Symachus* his tyme, in whose defense *Ennodius* a Deacon by the appoyntment & approbation of a Councell wrote thus: *VVee iudge not (as you* Schismatikes *say)*

that

that S. Peter or his successors receiued of our Lord licence to sinne, together with the priuiledges of their Sea: and to this effect only are these words alledged in the Canon law, as appeareth by the title it selfe of the text, which is thus: *The office of Priesthood doth not giue, but take away licence to sinne*: wherfore that, which is added afterward of the sanctity of those, who haue no merits of their owne, is not to be referred to the Pope in respect of his person, but in regard of his place and estate, as the words themselues sufficiently declare, and *M. Downam* could not in a manner chuse but perceiue, if he read and vnderstood the glosse, which he alledgeth in the next place.

And that the Reader may iudge of all the better, I wil not stick to recite so much, as seemeth necessary to this purpose: *It is to be noted* (sayth that glosse) *that there is a double spiritualtie, the one personall, and the other according to the estate: and there is also a double iudgment, or a double correction, the one authoritatiuè, or with authority, and the other fraternall; wherfore one, that is spirituall, personally iudgeth all men, because he may correct all that doe euill with fraternall correction, and he is iudged of none; because if he be spirituall, good, and holy he doth nothing for which he can be iudged or reprehended. But there is another spirituality according to the estate, when one is in the most holy and most spirituall estate; and in this estate is the Pope alone: and therefore euery one nameth, and ought to name him most holy Father. He iudgeth all things likewise with authority, because he hath authority aboue all; and he is iudged of none, because none hath authority ouer him: wherefore many may be, and perhaps are more holy and spirituall then the Pope personally; but according to the estate, none is so spirituall, nor so holy: and because to iudge with authority, belongeth to spirituality & sanctity according to the estate, therefore authoritatiuely, or in regard of authority, he alone is that spirituall man, who iudgeth all things and is himselfe iudged of no man.* Thus that glosse; where the Reader may obserue, that *M. Downã* might find the solution, as wel as the obiectiõ out of the glosses, if he would deale sincerly, and meant indeed not to deceiue and delude, but to instruct and informe his Reader of the truth.

De maiorit. & obedient. c. Vnam sanctam in glos.

Two sorts of Spirituall men.

And with this wee may conclude this whole Chapter, for there seemeth not to be any difficulty left, vnlesse

to

to some, that saying of Pope *Sixtus* 3. might seeme some-
Sixtus 3. thing hard, who against *Marinianus* one of his accusers, & false witnesses, in answere of that place of Scripture, *Dimittite & dimittetur vobis*, forgiue and you shalbe forgeuen; alledged that other: *qui autem peccauerit in spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc seculo neq; in futuro*: *he who sinneth a-*
Cõcil. tom. 2. in purgat. Sixti 3. *gainst the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiuen him, neyther in this world, nor in the world to come*: whereupon *M. Downam* inferreth, that Pope *Sixtus*, *accounted it a sinne against the holy Ghost to accuse*
Luc. 6. *him*. But though this were no doubt a very great sinne,
Mat. 12. the accusation being great, against such an eminent person, and the accusers owne conscience; yet notwithstanding the Pope spake not so much of this, as of the impenitency, which *Marinianus* shewed, euen when the sentence of separatiõ from the Cõmunion was giuen against him; for so it is expressely sayd in the Councell, that when *Bassus*, who was the other accuser of the Pope, was much grieued, offering all his lands to the Church, that he might be admitted to the Cõmuniõ, *Marinianus* on the other side made a scorne & mockery of it: by which it appeared, that he pronoũced those words, of asking forgiuenesse in the same mãner also. And this was the sinne against the holy Ghost, which Pope *Sixtus* reprehended him for.
All which is not a litle cõfirmed by that, which we reade
See Baron. an. 43. n. 31. & seq. of *Bassus*, that he was admitted to receiue his viaticum in the end of his life, and buried by Pope *Sixtus* himselfe; but of *Marinianus* there is no such repentance, nor remission recorded. And thus it happeneth that this obiection as well, as the rest, proceeded in *M. Downam* either from ignorance, or els from malice, if not from both.

THE

THE SEAVENTH CHAPTER.

WHEREIN

the Miracles, which are wrought in the Catholike Church, are defended againſt M. Downams *calumniations.*

TO begin this diſcourſe of Miracles, *M. Downam* is content to make vſe of *Cardinall Bellarmines* owne gounds; who for explication noted firſt, that Antichriſt and his followers were to worke many Miracles; which *M. Downam* layeth preſently hold of, affirming it to be euident, *that this note agreeth to the Pope and Church of Rome*; in which he ſayth truly, and it doth ſo likewiſe to Chriſt and his Apoſtles: wherefore it is not ſufficient to ſhew, that one doth many Miracles, but they muſt be conuinced to be falſe, and to be thoſe, which are expreſſed in Scripture to belong to Antichriſt. And certainly it is a ſtrange aſſertion in a Chriſtian, to affirme any to be Antichriſt, or of his crue, only becauſe they worke Miracles: but let vs goe forward, and ſee how *M. Downam* explicateth himſelfe. *Mat. 24. Bellar. lib. 3. de Rom. Pontif. c. 15.*

2. Firſt then he ſayth, that our *Myracles are nothing worth, becauſe they ſerue to confirme vntruthes*, and indeed if he could

could proue this, were to the purpose, but as yet he putteth vs of to another tyme and place; wherefore the Reader must be content to expect his leasure. Secondly he

Miracles in these later tymes are no signe of Antichrist.

sayth, *that in these later tymes Miracles need not for the confirmation of Gods truth, which heretofore hath bin sufficiently confirmed, and therefore now the vayne brag of manyfold Myracles among those, that professe the name of Christ, is so farre from being a note of the true Church, as that rather it is a playne signe of false teachers, and an euident marke of the Synagogue of Antichrist.* Thus he; for answere to which, we must distinguish with *Cardinall Bellarmine* in another place, where he treateth more amply of this matter of Myracles: that when either a new fayth is preached, or some affirme themselues to haue an extraordinary mission from God, Miracles are so absolutely necessary, that without them, neither that new fayth, nor those extraordinary preachers can without great temerity and extreme danger be receiued; but when there is no innouation in fayth, and preachers come by meanes of ordinary pastors, which haue lawfully deriued their succession from those, who wrought Miracles, as being the first extraordinary teachers of that ancient fayth, then Myracles are not absolutly necessary; but yet many tymes they may be profitable as well to confirme our fayth, as for other ends, and if they be true Miracles, they are allway effectuall and sufficient testimonies of the true fayth; neither can they in any sort be a signe of false teachers, as *M. Downam* supposeth; and consequently they who haue them, may iustly aledge them as a note of the true Church.

Bellarm. lib. 4. de notis Eccles. cap. 14.

When & how myracles are necessary profitable and sufficient testimonyes.

By which it appeareth, how childishly *M. Downam* supposeth that, which is in question, that we *teach our owne deuises and doctrines of men*, and that Protestants haue and *professe the truth of the Ghospell, which hath byn sufficiently confirmed by the myracles of our Sauiour Christ, and of his Apostles and Disciples*; for this is not only the mayne controuersy, but the Protestants are also conuinced by this very argument not to haue this truth of the Ghospell, since that they haue neither ordinary vocation from former lawfull Pastours, as is euident; for who sent *Luther*, *Caluin* &c? nor extraordinary

dinary, since that they want myracles, without which an extraordinary mission, or vocation cannot stand; except any will be so fond as to believe every one that sayth so, or thinke that he vnderstandeth the Scripture better then all others, only because he presumeth so of himselfe. Neither do we deny, but that the true Ghospell and religion hath byn sufficiently confirmed by the myracles of our Saviour Christ, and of his Apostles and disciples; for which cause we seek not for new myracles, but content our selves with the antiquity of our doctrine, the ordinary vocation of our Pastors, and other testimonyes, which God hath left vs; and by these also we evidently demonstrate, that we haue the truth of the Ghospell, which hath byn sufficiently confirmed by the myracles of our Saviour Christ, and of his Apostles, and disciples.

The want of myracles convince the Protestats to be false teachers.

But all this notwithstanding, when it pleaseth God aboue our desires, and beyond our expectation, to giue the grace of myracles to any of his seruants, we thinke our selves bound to accept this benefit with humility, and thankesgeuing, as well as many other, which he vouchsafeth to bestow both vpon particuler persons, and his whole Church, though they be not absolutely necessary. And we procure to make our best vse, and profit by them, one of which and perhaps not the least is to confirme the Catholike fayth against all heretiks, and sectaryes whatsoeuer, for all as well by these, as by many other arguments we conuince that saying of holy *Dauid* to be verified of our religion: *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis*. Thy testimonies (o Lord) are made too credible, that is more credible, then were absolutely necessary; wherfore it is not all way true, that whosoeuer will not believe this doctrine of Christ for the myracles, which he and his Apostles wrought, may not be moued by some other; for if we speake of Infidels, they many tymes do not believe, that our Saviour, or his Apostles wrought any myracles at all; and therfore cannot be moued by them, so long as they remayne in that disposition; neither will it be sufficient many tymes for *M. Downam* to tell them, that these myracles are registred in the holy Scripture; for they deny

Catholiks seeke not for myracles, but accept thē as an vnexpected benefit.

Psal. 92.

How new myracles may be profitable to Infidels.

the authority of that also.

And for this cause for the most part, if not continually, at the first conuersion of any nation, God hath graunted new myracles; which being manifest to sense it selfe, the Infidels could not altogeather deny, and consequently if they were not very hard harted and obdurate, they acknowledged those by whom those myracles were wrought, to be the seruants of the true God, or at least to professe and establish the true religion. And this is one great cause, why neither Protestants, nor any other heretikes, could euer preuayle with Paynims or Pagans for their conuersion; because they cannot confirme their false doctrine with true myracles, which seeme in a manner necessary for this effect. Thus then we see, that Infidels may be moued with new myracles, though they be not moued with the old.

How new myracles may be profitable to Heretiks.

And the same may be often verifyed in heretiks likewise; for though they, in their owne conceyt, carry a meruaylous great respect to the Ghospell, yet in very truth this ariseth not so much from the myracles which Christ and his Apostles wrought, nor from any other well grounded motiue, as out of their owne priuat election and selfe will; for those myracles are not knowne by them, but by the Scripture it selfe, and therfore it is euident, that they belieue the Scripture, before they giue credit to the myracles recorded in it; neither can they yield you any other reason for this their belief of Scriptures, but because they will do so; for if they answere, that they are moued by the authority of antiquity, or of the Church; we presently conuince the contrary, because they forsake both in many other questions of exceeding great importance. But omitting this to some other fitter place, that, which maketh most to our present purpose, is, that an heretike, who is not moued by the myracles of Christ and his Apostles, to admit some bookes of Scripture, which the Catholike Church admitteth, or some interpretations of Scriptures, or finally some vnwritten tradition, may very well be cõuinced by a present myracle, to acknowledge the true Catholike Church,

and

and consequently to imbrace all the veritys, which she imbraceth, and the reason herof is, because these veritys and expositions were not so particulerly confirmed by those ancient myracles, as they may be by some other wrought now; and of this it were an easy matter to bring many examples, if there could be any doubt herin.

Notwithstanding it is very true, that myracles are nothing so necessary in respect of heretikes, as of Infidels, because, since they receiue the Scripture in some sort, the authority of the Church may out of it be euidently deduced, and proued to them; which the other Infidels altogeather contemne or neglect. And besides hereticks, hauing once through their owne default lost the true fayth, are more vnworthy to receiue so great a benefit at Gods hands, then the other, who neuer knew the truth, nor had the Catholike religion planted among them by the meanes of myracles; wherfore it only remayneth, that no true Catholike, who not only receiueth what bookes of Scripture it pleaseth him, but also admitteth all the approued expositions and doctrines of the Church, can be more moued in matters of fayth by new myracles then by old, which is very true, if we vnderstand it *extensiuè*, as they speake in schooles, that is, he will not believe more points of fayth, then he did before; yet *intensiuè* his fayth may be increased and confirmed, that is, he may believe all that, which he believed before more stedfastly and perfectly.

Myracles are not so necessary for hereticks, as for Infidels.

And by this the discreet Reader may iudge of *M. Dournams* assertion, that, *whosoeuer will not believe the doctrine of Christ confirmed by his owne, and his Apostles myracles, neither will he believe though one should rise from the dead to preach vnto him*; for if he vnderstand this of all people whatsoeuer, as well Infidels, and hereticks, as true believers, and likewise in that example of that mans preaching, who should rise from the dead, comprehend all new myracles whatsoeuer; this assertion is false, and he abuseth the Scripture in alledging *Luc.* 16. to which he seemeth to allude; for our Sauiour in that place speaketh only of Iewes, who receiued the old Testament, and were not ignorant, that *Moyses*

How new myracles may be profitable to Catholiks.

Luc. 16. Difference of myracles.

and the Prophets taught, that all sinners who dyed without penance should go to hell, and therfore no marueyl, that if they did not hearc and obey the exhortations of the Prophets to that effect, they would not belieue one, that rose againe: where also we must note, that there is great difference betwixt the apparition of one that were dead, of which our Sauiour speaketh, and many other myracles: for these are often apparent, and in a manner euident to sense; wheras it is very doubtfull, and vncerteyne, whether the other be only an illusion or not. Finally, it is very true, that some Infidels, hereticks, and other wicked men are in that disposition, that neither myracles, nor any thing els will moue them more then the knowledge, which they haue already, or at least might easily attayne to: and such did the rich glottons brethren seeme to be, but that all are not such is more then manifest by the notable conuersion of diuers, which hath ensued vpon some good vision or myracle.

Some would scarse be moued by any myracles.

1. Cor. 14.

By this that hath byn layd, it appeareth, how we graunt, that myracles are not wrought for the belieuers, but for them that liue in Infidelity; as S. Paul affirmeth particulerly of the gift of diuers languages, and Tharasius (whom M. Downam quoteth) extendeth it to all myracles in generall; answering with it an obiection that might be made out of an example alledged in the Councell, and written by S. Athanasius, of a great myracle, which happened by the abusing of a Crucifix: for some might demand, why the like came not to passe, when the hereticks of those tymes committed the like excesse against Images. To which this holy Patriarch, thought it a sufficient answere, that those who misused the Crucifix were Infidels: for which cause they had a signe giuen thē frō God by the Image, that, by that meanes they might be drawne to the Christian fayth; but for the hereticks he addeth: *Generatio improba & adultera signum quærit, & signum non dabitur illis*; this wicked and adulterous generation seeketh a signe, and they shall haue none giuen them: by which he only signifyeth, that commonly myracles are not wrought for the conuersion of hereticks, as I haue explicated.

Tharas. in 7. Synod. id est 1. Nicena. Act. 4.

Mat. 11.

But

But M. Downam goeth forward, and alledgeth out of S. Augustine these words: *quisquis adhuc prodigia, vt credat, inquirit, magnum est ipse prodigium, qui mundo credente non credit*; *whosoeuer yet seeketh after wonders, that he may beleiue, is himselfe a great wonder, who when the world believeth, doth not believe.* Certainly M. Downam seemeth to me no lesse a wonder, then those of whom S. Augustine speaketh, in that he dareth alledge this Chapter against wonders, in which they are so expressely anouched, and very many particulerly recyted: for first S. Augustine writeth thus: *Nam etiam nunc fiunt miracula in eius nomine, siue per Sacramenta eius, siue per orationes, vel memorias Sanctorum eius*; *for now also myracles are wrought in his name, either by his Sacraments, or by the prayers, and memoryes of his Saynts*, and then he rehearseth very many in particuler of both sorts: and finally concludeth againe, *fiunt ergo etiam nunc multa miracula &c. wherfore now also many myracles are wrought, the same God doing them by whom he will, and as he will, who also did those which we read of, viz.* in the holy Scripture. And this Saynt in the same place testificth diuers wayes, what care and zeal he had, that these myracles might be knowne and published, as the former were; yea he was so carefull least any thing in his writing might seeme to deny this truth, that he expressely retracteth two places, in which his meaning, in this matter, might perhaps haue bin mistaken. I will recyte his words, that the Reader may remayne fully satisfied

S. Aug. lib. 22. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 8.

Myracles were nor ceased in S. Augustines tyme.

Thus then he wryteth in the former place: *Likewise that which I sayd (Neither were those myracles permitted to continue* »
to our tymes, least the soule should alway seeke visible things, and »
mankind should wax cold by the custome of them, by the nouelty of »
which it was enflamed) is true indeed; for now, when hands are im- »
posed vpon the baptized, they do not so receiue the holy Ghost, that they »
speake in the Languages of all Nations, neither are the sick healed now »
with the shadow of preachers, when they passe by, and if any other such »
myracles were wrought then, which haue manifestly ceased since. But »
that which I sayd is not to be taken, that now no myracles should be »
thought to be done in Christs name. For I my selfe when I wrote this »
very booke knew, that a blind man had bin restored to sight in the same »
Citty at the bodyes of the Martyr of Milan, and some other, of which »
sort

S. Augusti lib. 1. retract. c. 13. & 14.

sort there are so many done euen in these tymes, that we can neyther know all, nor recount those which we know. Againe in the Chapter following he writeth thus: *In another place when I had mentioned the myracles, which our Lord Iesus did while he was here in flesh, I added saying: You will aske, why are not these done now? And I answered, Because they would not mooue, vnlesse they were wonderfull. But I sayd this, because there are not so great, nor all done now, not because none are wrought now.*

Myracles are not so necessary now as they were in the begining of Christian Religion.

Thus then we see manifestly, that *S. Augustine* admitted myracles in his tyme, wherfore now let vs examine the words obiected by M. *Downam*. *S. Augustine* hauing spoken in the Chapter going before, of the myracles of our Sauiour, beginneth his 8. Chapter in these words: Why (*say the Infidels*) *are not those myracles*, which you affirme to haue bin wrought, done still? *I might say* (answereth *S. Augustine*) *that they were necessary before the world believed, to this end, that the world might believe; whosoeuer yet &c.* where first we must note that (*possem dicere*) *I might say*: for that giueth vs to vnderstand, that *S. Augustine* answereth this *ad hominem* (as they say in schooles) that is, admitting his aduersaries supposition to be true, not because it is so, but for that although it were, yet it proued nothing, and therfore may be let passe, as being from the present purpose. Secondly *S. Augustine* only affirmeth, that myracles are not absolutely necessary now, as they were then, and that the very conuersion of the world by those former myracles, were a most sufficient motiue to induce any to believe now, though he saw no new myracles; and therfore that he were a wonder himselfe, who seeing this conuersion of the whole world, would yet seeke after new myracles to believe.

But because these Infidels, against whom *S. Augustine* disputeth in that place, did not only deny new myracles, but the ancient also; he goeth further with them, shewing, that either the things which Christians believe, are incredible in themselues, and therfore the world especially in that most learned age, when it was conuerted, needed the testimony of myracles, to believe: or els they are so credible, that they need no myracles to be believed, and then

then *S. Auguſtine* vrgeth thoſe Infidels againſt whom he diſputeth, with their too much Infidelity, who would not belieue ſuch credible things: where we ſee, that he maketh the like ſuppoſition againſt old myracles alſo, as he had made before againſt new, not becauſe his meaning was to deny either, but only to conuince the Infidels more euidently; and any Catholike may very well vſe the like argument againſt Proteſtants, and yet not deny new myracles, no more then *S. Auguſtine* did, who preſently after, expreſſely auoucheth not only old but alſo new myracles as we haue ſeene. Thus much for this place.

Now let vs examine the other, which *M. Downam* alledgeth out of the ſame Saynt: *Contra iſtos mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus &c. Againſt theſe myracle-mongers my God hath made me wary, ſaying: There ſhall ariſe in the laſt dayes falſe Prophets working ſignes and wonders, that they might bring into errour, if it were poſſible, the very elect.* To vnderſtand and anſwere this obiection well, we muſt ſee, what *myracle-mongers S. Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of; for that he writeth not againſt all myracles in generall, is more then manifeſt by that, which hath bin ſayd: wherfore in this place alſo, he ſayeth not, *contra omnes mirabiliarios*, but *contra iſtos*; againſt thoſe, *viz.* of which he had ſpoken a litle before ſaying: *Et Pontius fecit miraculum, & Donatus orauit, & reſpondit ei Deus de cælo*, both *Pontius* did a myracle, and *Donatus* prayed, and God anſwered him from heauen: wherfore we willingly graunt that we muſt not be moued to follow heretikes, though they worke myracles, becauſe we haue more certeyne rules againſt them, as *S. Auguſtine* partly declareth in the ſame place; for Chriſt our ſpouſe poſſeſſeth the whole earth, hauing redeemed the whole, but heretiks are corrupted in a part; they deuide vnity, without which myracles are nothing worth; yea theſe myracles, which *S. Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of, were falſe myracles, for ſo he anſwereth to that obiection firſt: *aut falluntur aut fallunt*; they are either deceiued or deceiue; though for more clarity he rather conuinceth them out of thoſe other more manifeſt grounds.

S. Aug. tract. 13. in Ioannē.

Heretikes are not to be followed, though they did worke myracles.

Wherfore all that can be gathered out of this place, is that myracles are no ſufficient argumēts to proue the truth

of any religion, when other more firme, and sure grounds
De vnit. Eccles. c 13. proue it to be heresy: for which cause also in another place he sayth, that the *myracles which are done in the Catholike Church, are therfore to be approued, because they are wrought in the Catholike Church*, that is in that Church which cannot be proued heretical, by any firmer ground then myracles; *but* (sayth he) *the Church is not therfore made manifest* (precisely, or by this alone) *because myracles are wrought in it*; for, that myracles do concurre in part, when there is not some other
De vtilit. credendi cap. 17. euident obstacle, *S. Augustine* himselfe declareth, by alledging them among the arguments to this effect. Thus then we see, that *S. Augustine* fauoureth not *M. Downam* at all, since that he both admitteth myracles in his tyme, and likewise vseth them as an argument, and note to know the true Church by, though not so infallibly, but that, sometymes heretiks may pretend myracles, which albeit they be in themselues false, yet perhaps they cannot be so easily conuinced; but in such a case there will neuer want other more euident signes of heresy, as *S. Augustine* teacheth, with whom we fully agree: but certayne it is, that myracles of themselues are alway great inducements to the true Church; in so much that it was necessary that our Sauiour (as *S. Augustine* sayth) should make vs way against the myracles of Antichrist by foretelling vs of them, least otherwise euen the very elect might haue byn caryed into errour, as supposing that none but Gods true seruants could haue wrought those wonders, which he and his Ministers shall do.

Wherfore that, which *M. Downam* alledgeth in the
Chrysost. hom. 49. in Matth. next place vnder *S. Chrysostoms* name, appeareth manifestly not to be his; nor of any Catholike author; but of some manifest, heretick, who consequently in this generall doctrine of finding out the true Church, must necessarily agree with *M. Downam* and all other sectaries; for as they all agree in being heretikes, so likewise they are all inforced to fly to only Scripture interpreted by themselues, and reiect both myracles, and other manifest notes of the true Church, to which both the assignation and interpretation of Scriptures, and the decision of all other

contro-

controuersyes belong. Now then that this author, who made those vnperfect homilyes vpon *S. Matthew*, which are commonly alledged especially by Protestants vnder *S. Chrysostoms* name, and go togeather with his workes, was neither this great Saint, and glorious Doctor, nor any other Catholike, is manifest inough, by that which *Erasmus* noteth in his Preface before this worke; where first he affirmeth, that there is no doubt, that this worke is not *S. Chrysostoms*; and afterwards setteth downe diuers errors conteyned in this imperfect worke, I shall not need to rehearse them all, especially since *Erasmus* himselfe can hardly be excused from all error, euen in this his Catalogue of this authors errours; wherfore I will only mention one or two, which are most manifest; for he maketh not only the holy Ghost inferiour to Christ, but also seemeth to affirme as much of the Sonne in respect of the Father, and denyeth the equality of the three persons, yea he reconneth the *Homousians*, and those who affirme the three persons of the Blessed Trinity to be altogeather equall, among heretiks; wherfore no meruayle though that zealous *Cardinall Baronius*, was so much moued to see this vncertayne authors but certayne heretiks worke, among those of *S. Chrysostome*.

Opus imperfectum in Matthæum, is neither the worke of S. Chrysostome, nor of any Catholike

See hom. 20. 22. 45. & 48. &c.

Baron. an. 407. *nu.* 12.

Now then this being so, the Reader will easily perceiue, what account is to be made of this authors testimony, in this or any other matter of controuersy, especially concerning the notes and arguments, by which the true Catholike Church may be discerned from heretiks. Neither can I find that saying in *Clement*, which this author attributeth to him, that Antichrist shall worke profitable signes: but suppose it were so, I thinke *S. Clement* is of no great credit with M. *Downam*: and besides what reason is there to attribute that, which is proper to Antichrists tymes, to all heretiks in generall? No doubt Antichrist and his followers shall worke admirable signes, as both our Sauiour and *S. Paul* affirme in generall, and *S. Iohn* declareth in particuler, and consequently it followeth very well, that those who worke no wonders at all, are not properly that great Antichrist; and therfore we affirme

firme not, that the Protestants are any more then his forerunners; as all other heretikes are.

Neither can M. *Downam* proue by myracles, that the Pope is Antichrist, any more then all other old heretikes could inferre the same against the Catholike Church, and the Pastors thereof in their times; for in all ages euer since Christ there haue bin continually new myracles done by Catholikes, as both *Bellarmine*, and *Baronius* do particularly declare, and the Protestants themselues cannot deny; and on the other side no heretike could euer produce any manifest myracle for his sect, but only certeyne obscure and vncerteyne visions, which the Catholikes therfore deseruedly denyed and contemned, as we see in the first answere, which *S. Augustine* made to the *Donatists*? who were either the only, or at least the chiefest heretiks, that euer claymed myracles; for others were not permitted by God to preuayle so farre, or els perhaps they were wise inough to see, that myracles, except they were manifest and euident, did rather disgrace, then countenance their religion; for it is certeyne, that diuers of them endeuoured to faygne some such, as *Bellarmine* declareth of *Symon Magus*, the *Manicheans*, *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Monothelites*, *Eutichians*, *Image-breakers*, yea and of *Luther* and *Caluin* himselfe; but they were still discouered, to their great shame and ignominy.

Bellar. vbi supra, Baronius in omnibus tomis.

Heretiks neuer wrought any true or manifest myracles.

And therfore no meruayl, though M. *Downam* and others, be driuen to this miserable refuge, as to seeke to vphold their decaying and ruynous sect, by ioyning themselues with *Iewes*, *Turks*, and all other heretiks and schismaticks which haue no myracles; and therfore as M. *Downam* well obserueth are not that Antichrist, who is to come, and to do myracles; no more then the true Church, which hath and euer shall haue true myracles, and by them sufficiently conuince all hidden enemyes: and when Antichrist commeth he shall be such an open enemy to Christ, as that he shall oppose and exalt himselfe aboue him, and by myracles seeke to draw all the world to acknowledg him for their Messias and God; in which he shall preuaile so farre, that had not our Sauiour forewarned vs, and shortened

Myracles are great motiues.

shortened the tyme of his raigne and persecution, the very elect might seeme to be in danger. And if false signes and wonders be of this force, how farre ought true myracles to preuayle? But this is the misery and backwardnesse of men to all goodnes, and their forwardnes and proneneſſe to that which is bad; in so much that for some space Protestants without all shew either of myracles, or truth, haue preuayled against Catholikes, who haue truly had them both on their side. By which, as by infinite other arguments, it appeareth how farre off the Pope, and the Catholike *Roman* Church are from belonging to Antichrist.

But let vs returne to M. *Downãs* discourse of myracles, and conclude this paragraph, by denying that myracles in this later time do properly and only belong to Antichrist, for though the Scriptures haue foretold, that by Antichrist and his adherents many signes and wonders shalbe wrought, in these later tymes; yet they neuer say, as *M. Downam* doth, that this *properly* and only belongeth to Antichrist; but contrariwise they many tymes affirme without any limitation of time or place, that those, who beliue in Christ, shall do many myracles, and experience sheweth, that this hath bin fulfilled in ages hitherto; yea *Enoch* and *Elias* are plainly sayd to haue the power of doing myracles: and consequently this signe of myracles is an euident argument of Christs true Church, so long as it appeareth not by other certeyne proofes, that they are done by some who are enemies to Christ and his Church; for in that case only, we are not to belieue them, as our Sauiour forewarneth vs, and *S. Augustine* declareth. And finally we may note out of all this discourse, that the myracles which are wrought in our Church, are so manifest, and frequent, that they can in no sort belong to any hereticks; wherfore by shewing, that they are not done by Antichrist, we also conuince, that they perteyne to Christs true Church, for betwixt these two in this there is no meane.

Mar. 16. *Ioan.* 14. 1. *Cor.* 12. &c.

3. Thus we haue heard M. *Downams* discourse of myracles in generall. Now he commeth to the second

point, which is that the signes and wonders of Antichrist shalbe lying, yea *most lying signes and wonders*, which we graunt with *Bellarmine*; as also, that they shalbe such in *respect of the end, which is to seduce men to make them believe lyes, to deceive them*; wherfore it will not be necessary to examine any thing, which he bringeth in proofe hereof. Only we must note, that when *S. Augustine* admitteth that those signes of Antichrist shalbe true wonders, his meaning only is, that they shalbe true in respect of their matter, as *Cardinall Bellarmine* speaketh, because sometymes the things shalbe truly and really done, as they appeare; but yet then also they shall only be such, as exceed not the forces of all nature; which *S. Augustine* expressely declareth, by attributing them to the power of the Diuell, and consequently they shall then also be formally false; for true Miracles can only be wrought by God; hauing no naturall causes eyther hidden or manifest, and therefore they are truly marueilous and wonderfull, not only in the sight of men, but also of Angells and Diuells: but the Miracles of Antichrist (though some of them shalbe truly and really done, and not only in shew) shall all of them haue naturall causes, though they be hidden to men.

How the signes & wonders of Antichrist shall be lying.

S. Aug. l. 10. de ciuit. Dei c. 19.

And thus I suppose *M. Downam* meaneth also when he affirmeth them *to be not only in shew and appearance, but indeed and in truth*; and yet since he did not explicate himselfe more plainly, I thought it necessary to borrow this explication of *Cardinall Bellarmine* for him, he being perhaps ashamed to borrow it himselfe. There is another poynt also, in which the Reader must be admonished, for *M. Downam* telleth him, that false Prophets are many tymes permitted to worke euen great signes & wonders, whereas indeed the Scripture speaketh chiefly of the tyme of Antichrist, of which all the places of the new Testament are properly to be vnderstood, and that of the old signifieth rather, that such false Prophets shall arise seldome, then often: and besids it speaketh not of doing any signe, or wonder at all, but only of foretelling them. By which it appeareth that *M. Downams* translation is at least obscure, which speaketh of giuing this signe, and wonder, though

Mat. 24. 2. Thes. 2. Apoc. 13. Deutero. 13.

present-

presently after it seemeth to explicate this giuing to be but a fortelling only; by which, that which I said before is much confirmed, that this power of working wonders by false Prophets, seemeth in a manner wholy to be referred to Antichrists tyme, especially after the comming of our Sauiour into the world, at which tyme the Diuell was bound, & shall not be loosed againe vntill the comming of Antichrist, as *S. Iohn* testifieth.

Apoc. 20.

4. Now I doubt not the Reader earnestly expecteth to see how *M. Downam* will proue the Miracles which are done by Catholikes to be lying signes, and wonders. First in respect of their end, but he must haue patience, for this exceedeth *M. Downās* skill: only he telleth vs that they haue bin partly deuised, and partly, wrought for the confirmation of *transubstantiation, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, Purgatory, Inuocation, and worshiping of Saints, adoration of Images and Reliques, the authority of the Pope &c.* and he likewise calleth these doctrines, *Antichristian, absurd, heathnish, superstitious Idolatrous*, yea more then heathnish, doctrines of Diuells, & lyes of Antichrist; but other proofes he bringeth none, except it be the testimony of hereticall *Aretin*°, who calleth those who tooke Pope *Gregory* the seauēth his part against the Emperour, *false Prophets, false Apostls false Priests*, naming also the miracles which they wrought, fables: but all this and the rest which this author sayth concerning this matter, is meere railing without any proofe or ground, and therefore he deserueth no more credit or answere, then *M. Downam* doth himselfe. If the Reader desire to know that whole history, let him peruse the 2. Tome of Cardinall *Baronius*, and he will remaine fully satisfyed.

The Miracles of the Catholike Church, be not lying signes, and wonders, in respect of their end.

Gregory the 7.

5. This is all that *M. Downam* bringeth to proue that our Miracles are lying in respect of their end; now he commeth to their substance, where he likewise most stoutly affirmeth (for in this he is excellent) that they are all either meerely fabulous, and therefore such things as neuer were, not so much as in shew and apparance, or meerely *Phantastical*, that is such things, as were in shew only, and not in truth, and this eyther by the prestigia-

They be not lying signes in respect of their substance.

tory

tory conueiances of wicked men, or meere illusions of the Diuell: or finally, he sayth, they are at least naturall, and therefore but counterfeit Miracles effected by the power of the Diuell. Where the Reader hath a full and exact diuision of lying Miracles, for now M. *Downam* hath added out of *Bellarmine* that which he omitted before concerning lying Miracles in respect of the matter; wherefore there remayneth nothing but some solid proofes, that the Miracles which are wrought in the Catholike Church, be of this sort.

Nicol. Lyran. in Daniel 14. Alexãder de Hales.

6. But here M. *Downam* can say litle, only he telleth vs, that some of our owne writers confesse that somtymes there is great deceiuing of the people in feigned Miracles by the Priests, and their adherents for temporall gayne: and another sayth, in *the Sacrament appeareth flesh, sometymes by the conueyance of men, sometymes by the operation of the Diuell*, but what of all this? what reason hath M. *Downam* to turne this (sometyme) into alway? doe not the same Authors testify that though this hapneth sometymes, yet at other tymes Miracles are wrought in the Church by God himselfe? and why will M. *Downam* rather beleiue them in the one, then in the other? he might well consider that this care, and zeale in Catholike authors, is no litle confirmation of true Miracles, for they wanted neyther skill, nor will to examine these matters, and to separate the true from the false. And they did not only labour in this themselues, but exhorted the Bishops also to be watchfull in the same, as *Lyra* doth in this very place which M. *Downam* quoteth: and our glorious Martyr *Sir Thomas More*, who examineth this matter very diligently, among other things sheweth that the Bishops could not be negligent in this for temporall gayne, since that they had no part of those offerings which were made at certayne places, more then in other, in respect of Miracles. He also most pleasantly, and pithily, after his manner sheweth, that M. *Downam* hath more reason to doubt whether he be Christened, then whether many true Miracles be wrought in the Catholike Church, and that this incredulity rather proceedeth from the euill dispositiõ of such

The discouery of false Miracles by Catholike Doctors, is a confirmation of the rest.

There is no reason to doubt of the truth of many Miracles.

such men, then from any other iust, or sufficient cause, and that by the same reason he might thinke that all women were *painted*, all decent people *hypocrits*, all *Diamonds counterfeit*, and the like, because among euery sort, some are found to be such.

S. Aug. de ciuitate Dei l.10. c. 18.

Besides, that many myracles are so manyfest, that except a man will renounce, not only all morall honestie and reason, but euen sense it selfe, they cannot be denied. And as *S. Augustine* disputeth against the Infidells, to deny myracles in generall, were to affirme that God hath no care of men, and if the Histories of Gentils deserue credit when they report strange things happened among them, by meanes of their false Gods, how much more are Christian Catholike authors, being most learned, wise, discreet and vertuous men, to be beleiued, when they relate myracles wrought by the power of the true God, and of our Sauiour Iesus Christ? wherefore there can be no doubt at all, but that many wonders are wrought in these tymes, as well, as in former ages, and if *M. Downam* or any other English Protestant would take but the paynes to trauell into Catholike countries, and visit such places, as these myracles are wrought at, they might many tymes be conuinced by their owne experience in this point.

But yet perhaps euen then also some would be so obdurate, that when they had no other euasion, they would not sticke to attribute them to the operation of the Diuell, of which we must demand what reason they haue for this their temerarious iudgment, and malicious suspition? For to omit that some are of that quality, that they altogeather exceed all naturall forces, as the raysing of the dead, and the restoring of some blind, and lame, in which kind is that of him in *Flanders*, whose knees were from his natiuity so fastened to his breast, that there was no diuision at all betwixt them; to omit this I say, the Protestants cannot deny, but that within these thousand yeares there haue bin so many, and so manifest myracles wrought in the Catholike Church, that they may be compared with any other which went before, if we

Some myracles euidently exceed all naturall forces.

consider only the things in themselues; wherefore they seeme certainly to come from the same author which the other had.

And this is much confirmed, if we consider that since our Sauiours comming the Diuell is bound, and imprisoned, in so much that all his Oracles are put to silence, and his Idols destroied. And though for sinnes of Christian people, God hath permitted *Mahomet* to preuaile, yet as *M. Downam* confesseth, neither that sect, nor the Iewes haue any great cause to vaunt of their myracles: and among Christians, there being (as all acknowledge) but one true Church, whereas heretiks, and Schismatiks be many, there can no reason be assigned (as that honour of our Country *Syr Thomas More* most prudently noted) why the Diuell should only worke these wonders in the Catholike Church, and in no other sect whatsoeuer; especially if we consider that most Protestants themselues are inforced to confesse, that men may be saued among vs, which they dare not affirme of many heretykes. Wherefore this had bin euidently to haue drawne men to the meanes of their saluation, which is altogeather opposit to the Diuells intentions, but most proper to the infinit mercy, and goodnes of our Sauiour. Finally the same which *M. Downã* obiecteth against our miracles now, was by the Iewes, and pagans sayd of our Sauiour himselfe, and his Apostles, and afterward by diuers heretikes, of the myracles which were wrought at the tombes of Martyrs, or by the prayers of holy men; as we read of the *Arians*, who attributed the restoring of the sight to a blind man called *Felix*, by a holy Catholike Bishop named *Eusebius*, to witchcraft.

Syr Thomas More l. 2. dia. c. 12.

The diuel cannot be suspected to worke myracles only in the Catholike Church.

Matth. 12. Luc. 11.

Victor Vticens. de persecutione VVãd. lib. 2.

S. Ambros. serm. 91. de Sanct. Geruas. & Protas.

And likewise when the Diuells were tormented at the bodies of *S. Gerua sius*, *& Protasius*, these heretikes notwithstanding denied that they were tormented indeed, and that it was but a fiction and feigned mockery. *Vigilantius* seing the myracles which were done in the Churches in his tyme so euident, that he could not deny them, would haue shifted of the matter, by saying that they profited the incredulous, and not those who did beleiue.

But

But *S. Hierome* told him that this was not the queſtion, but by what vertue they were done, and bad him anſwere, *Quomodo in viliſſimo puluere, & fauilla neſcio qua, tanta ſit signorum, virtutumq; præſentia?* how in the duſt, and aſhes of the Saynts, there was ſo great a preſence, or operation of myracles? yea this holy Saint doubted not to tell the *Arch-heretike*, that the cauſe of his feare, and grief was, becauſe the vncleane Spirit, who compelled him to write ſuch things was tormented with the Saynts Reliques, though he did not acknowledge his torments in him, as he did in others. *S. Hieronim. l. aduerſ. vigilã. c. 4.*

After this, he caſteth this other doubt, whether perhaps *Vigilantius* would imitate the Gentils, and wicked *Porphyry*, and *Eunomius*, by faygning that theſe were the diuells illuſions, and that they did not truly cry out, but faygne their torments, which if *Vigilantius* did, *S. Hirome* giueth him good counſell, *Do conſilium*, ſayth he, *ingredere Baſilicas Martyrum &c.* I giue thee this Counſaile, goe into the Martyrs Churches, and thou wilt at length be purged; thou ſhalt find there many of thy Companions, and thou ſhalt be burnt not with the Martyrs torches, which diſpleaſe thee, but with inuiſible flames, and then thou ſhalt confeſſe that, which thou denieſt now &c. telling him moreouer that the Diuell would tell his true name, and diſcouer his couetouſnes, his filthy luſt, his drunkenneſſe &c. if I ſhould tell M. *Downam*, that this hath not ſeldome hapned in our Exorciſmes, in which the Diuells haue reuealed the ſecret, and vnknowne ſynnes of Heretykes, or ſuch other wicked people, as had not cleanſed their conſcience with the Sacrament of Confeſſion, he would hardly belieue me. Wherefore I can giue him no better Counſaile, then to trauaile, and try the truth thereof, or if he be loath to take ſo much paynes, let him conſider the matter well at home, and confer the reaſons, which either our Sauiour himſelfe, or any of his Saynts haue vſed in defence of their myracles, and ponder whether the very ſame ſtand not in force for the myracles, which we ſee done in our dayes; let him compare myracles with myracles, and he will find, that in euery

The ſame reaſons which proued old myracles to be true, proue the ſame of ours.

respect they are so lyke that they differ only in the tyme; which is in effect no difference at all; except *M. Downam* will fondly suppose that Antichrist is come now, but was not then, which is the chiefest controuersy, and must not be taken for granted, but most clearly and euidently conuinced, before it can cause any to doubt of the truth and verity of our myracles.

And now it will be no hard matter to answere *M. Downams* particuler instances; and first, for the Image of *S. Nicolas*, which was made with a deuise to blesse the people, I cannot imagine, that he supposeth that this was attributed to any myracle, and besides, if I should be so suspitious, as he, I might cast a doubt, whether that deuise were not made by his Father himselfe, or by some other Protestant, in hatred of our religion, and to make matters seeme more odious.

The like might be also sayd of the *Legends* which he citeth, for it is certayne that many fables haue bin mixed with true histories, by such people, that the ridiculous falsity of the one, might at least call in question the knowne verity of the other. But whether it were don by a crafty enemy, or some simple friend, it is no great matter, for learned and discret Catholike writers do equally reiect both: in which kind, that worthy Cardinall *Baronius* hath laboured most profitably, and discouered both his great iudgment, and zeale in discerning apochriphall, and false fables, and no lesse learning and deuotion in establishing and reuerencing auncient monuments, and true histories; which course, if Protestants would haue taken, their labours might haue bin profitable both to themselues, and others, whereas now they are most pernicious to both.

False histories ought not to preiudice the true.

That which *M. Downam* bringeth out of a Legend of *S. Fremius* translation, seemeth to be taken out of some Poet, who vsing the licence, which that art affoardeth, exaggerateth matters in that manner. But so strange an history should not haue bin related in prose, but vpon better proofe, and therefore the author of the Legend bewrayeth his simplicity, if not malice. The next which

S. Fremius.

follow

followeth of *S. Patrick*, that by his prayers all venemous beasts were banished out of Ireland, is a constant assertion among those Countrymen, and therefore cannot be reiected without some further proofe, then only vnbeliefe. The other narration of the sheeps bleating in the thiefs belly is easy inough to be beleiued, for no doubt such a noise might easily be made by the diuell, being inforced therevnto, who possessed that mans hart, and had perswaded him first to commit that fault, and after to conceale it. Wherefore this dependeth vpon the Authors credit, and if it be not related by any other, then by an ordinary *Legend* whose Author is vnknowne, *M. Downam* may very well call it in question, so that he doubteth only of the fact it selfe, and not of the possibility thereof. S. Patrick

7. The like answere is to be giuen concerning the flowre-de-lis, in the leaues of which those words *Aue Maria* were written, to declare the good Knights deuotion, who lay buryed in that place, for I see no more impossibility in this, then in that hearbe which *Eusebius* relateth to haue growne by our Sauiours Image, and wrought myracles; wherfore all the question is of what authority the Relator is. The last example of *S. Francis*, and the *Spider*, which he, saying Masse, did drinke out of the Chalice, is manifestly false, for it is well knowne, that *S. Francis* neuer said Masse in his life, but refused vtterly to be made Priest, so great was the reuerence that he bare to that high degree: wherfore it well appeareth that *M. Downam* speaketh many tymes without booke, and if he had seene that of the Conformityes of this glorious Saynt, perhaps his desire to haue it more common would soone be at an end; for though it conteyneth some things which the captious heretikes may carpe at, by reason of their incredulity, yet withall, it not only relateth, but also proueth such great excellencyes of this Saynt, that a Protestant would scarce haue patience to peruse it, which if they did commonly, no doubt many would be moued to the deuotion of this Saynt, and consequently renounce that sect, which turneth such excellent sanctity into scoffing iestes, imitating therin the profanest Panyms, and Infidels that euer were. *Euseb. l. 7. histor. c. 14.* *S. Francis.* The booke of Cõformities.

I shall not need to say any thing of Pope *Victor*, or the Emperour *Henry* of *Luxemburgh*, hauing shewed before, that the Pope was miraculously delyuered, and the Emperour neuer attempted to be poysoned, as is most probable. *S. Willam* Archbishop of *Torke* was indeed sayd by some to haue bin poysoned by some of his Clergy, not with the Blessed Sacramẽt (as *M. Downam* falsly auoucheth) but with the lotions of wine and water, which are wont to be taken after, yet the truth seemeth rather to be, that there was no such matter, as *Neubergensis* expressely confirmeth by the constant assertion of one who was present at that Masse, shewing likewise vpon what light coniectures the contrary report was grounded. And the sanctity of this holy man declared by many miracles both before and after his death, doe not a litle perswade the same. But howsoeuer this be, why doth *M. Downam* bring in these narrations now? would he perhaps giue his Reader to vnderstand, that the wickednesse of such leud intentions and endeauours of poisoning others belongeth to the Sacrament it selfe? certainly this were no lesse ridiculous then malicious. And yet otherwise he could haue no pretence to produce such historyes in this place, let vs cõclude this poynt with this declaration, that we admit not all myracles whatsoeuer, but such only, as are authentically related at least, if not (after much enquiry made) confirmed, and published by publike authority, in which no indifferent man hath cause to cast any doubt, except he can bring certayne proofes to the contrary.

See c. 6. n. 2.

S. Willi Archbishop of Yorke.

Houed. annal. an. 1154.

Neubrig. l. 1. c. 26.

See polidor. virg. l. 12. in fine.

8. Thus much for myracles in generall: now *M. Downam* cõmeth to the particuler signes, which *Cardinall Bellarmine* sheweth out of the *Apocalyps*, that Antichrist shall worke. Wherefore *M. Downam* reprehendeth him grieuously for vnderstanding them litterally, whereas in his opinion, they were rather mystically to be expounded. But he seemeth not well to vnderstand, what a literall, and what a mysticall sense is; since that he supposeth the litterall sense to be false, and the mysticall true; whereas it is manifest, that the mysticall, if it be rightly gathered, supposeth the litterall, as the ground and foundation ther-

The particular signes which Antichrist shal work are literally to be vnderstood.

thereof: Wherefore it is alſo falſe, that Catholiks doe in any part of Scripture ſo hunt after myſticall, and allegoricall ſenſes, as *that they ſeeke not cheifly for the literall*, but hauing found this in many places, they labour to find out the myſticall alſo, eſpecially in the old *Teſtament*, following therein the example of all auncient Fathers, yea of the Apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelfe.

And this courſe is to be taken in the *Apocalyps*, as wel as in other bookes, & this doth *Cardinall Bellarmine* cõcerning the wonders and ſignes of Antichriſt, two of which are particularly declared by *S. Iohn* to be theſe, that he ſhall make fire come downe from heauen, and ſhall cauſe the Image of the beaſt to ſpeake: & ſurely it is very ſtrange that *M. Downam* hath all this tyme inculcated ſo much the greatneſſe of Antichriſts myracles, and now when he commeth to declare them in particuler he would elude all with a myſticall interpretation. But we haue no more cauſe to doubt that *S. Iohn* is litterally to be vnderſtood, when he expreſſeth what theſe ſignes ſhalbe, then when he telleth vs, that they ſhalbe great, in which both our Sauiour, and *S. Paul* agreeth with him, and *M. Downam* hitherto ſeemeth to giue his conſent alſo, though now vpon the ſodayne he begin to ſtagger, but that is all one to vs, for we belieue it neuer the better, becauſe he ſayth it.

The myſticall ſenſe ſuppoſeth the literal.

9. Notwithſtanding let vs ſee what he can ſay, eyther concerning his myſticall, or the literall explication of theſe ſignes. Wherefore firſt he informeth vs, that deſcending of fyre from heauen, in the Scriptures ſignifyeth three things. 1. Gods approuing of the religion and ſacrifices of his ſeruants, as may be ſeene *Leuit* 9. 24. 1. *Paral*. 21. 26. 2. *Paral*. 7. 1. 3. *Reg*. 18. 38. whereupon *M. Downam* inferreth, that in his firſt myſticall ſenſe, Antichriſt may be ſayd to cauſe fire to deſcend from heauen, in the ſight and opinion of men, when he confirmeth his doctrine by ſuch ſignes and wonders, as though God anſwered him by fyre from heauen: where you ſee, that now this is no particuler ſigne, but comprehendeth all the ſignes and wonders which Antichriſt ſhall worke; but this

How Antichriſt ſhal make fyre come downe from heauen.

this is manifestly against the text of Scripture, which affirmeth, that he shall doe great signes, *Vt etiam ignem faceret &c.* so that he shall make fyre also come downe from heauen &c. By which it plainly appeareth, that this particuler signe is expressed to shew, and proue that Antichrist shall worke great signes: and besides, in all the places which *M. Downam* alledgeth, fyre is truly and really, or litterally, sayd to haue come downe from heauen, and consequently the same is to be vnderstood in this place also. And that as God in the old Testament confirmed the true religion with sending fyre from heauen, to consume the Sacrifices, so shall Antichrist cause fyre to come downe from heauen in the sight of men, in confirmation of his blasphemies.

Finally in this manner might all particuler myracles whatsoeur be denyed, and expounded mystically; not that they were truly done in particuler, as they are rehearsed, but that in generall, something was done in confirmation of doctrine; but what that was, is vncertayne; for this mysticall signification is common to all myracles whatsoeuer, and not peculiar, or proper to the descending of fyre from heauen.

10. Wherefore *M. Downam*, fearing that these mysticall senses would not serue his turne, before he explicateth the other two, will needes shew how this myracle hath litterally bin wrought among Catholikes: to which end, first he bringeth a narration out of the Festiuall, which (as he sayth) was wont to be read solemnely in the Church on *Corpus Christi* day, wherein it is related, that there appeared a *Pillar of fyre* which lasted from earth to heauen, by which a Priest found the Blessed Sacrament, which he had let fall out of his bosome, as he caryed it to a sicke woman, the truth of which history must depend vpon the authority of that Festiuall. But if *M. Downã* sayth truly that it was wõt to be solemnly read in the Church, it is not easily to be reiected. And though to M. *Downã* this seemeth a foolish fiction, yet certayne it is that many as strange myracles as this haue bin wrought in confirmation of the verity of the reall presence, euen in this very kind.

Whether the Pope hath made fyre come downe frõ heauẽ.

kind. Wherefore firſt we ſee that this *Pillar of fyre*, rather proceded from the B. Sacrament it ſelfe, then that it came downe from heauen, as that fyre, which S. *Cyprian* relateth to haue riſen from the ſame in his tyme. S. *Cyprian. de lapſis.*

Secondly this *Pillar* is not very properly called a *Pillar of fyre*, ſince that it conſumed not any thing, and therfore it rather ſeemeth to haue bin only a *Pilar of light*, which improperly may be called a Pillar of fyre. Thirdly there can be no doubt but that Antichriſt ſhal cauſe true fyre to come downe from heauen, which ſhalbe like that of *Elias*, and worke terrible effects. Fourthly, if with *M. Downam* we ſhould thinke that this and the like were no true Hiſtoryes, ſurely Antichriſts ſignes would be very ſmall, for they would only come to this, that there ſhould ſuch falſe miracles be ſpoken of by his followers, but neuer done indeed; which were not to make fyre come downe from heauen, in the ſight of men, but only in their hearing, which ſeemeth indeed to be *M. Downams* conceipt, who explicateth that to be done in the ſight of mē, which they iudge, thinke, and belieue to be true, though they did neuer ſee it. But this altogeather ouerthroweth both the force of Antichriſts myracles, which are affirmed to be great, and the propriety of *S. Iohns* ſpeach, as is moſt manifeſt.

11. But yet let vs heare what other examples *M. Downam* reciteth: he ſayth, that in the life of *Prothe* and *Iacinct* we make fyre to come downe from heauen to kill *Melancy* the falſe accuſer of *Eugene*: and it is true indeed that in the life of *S. Eugenia* it is recorded that God ſent fyre from heauen with which *Melancia* her howſe was conſumed, but ſhe her ſelfe eſcaped, as is expreſſely noted in the ſame Hiſtory; ſo that *M. Downam*, or his author miſtooke the matter not a litle. But for the point it ſelfe, we deny not, but that God hath many tymes taken this reuenge of his enemies in the new Teſtament: that which *M. Downam* ſhould haue ſhewed is, that eyther *S. Eugenia* or *S. Prothus*, and *Hyacinthus* did procure this myracle with their prayers, or otherwiſe, the like we might ſay of the Pillar of fire, with appeared at the body of *S. Edward* our Engliſh S. Eugenia S. Edward Martyr.

English King and Martyr, but besides, this was not properly fyre, as we said of the other Pillar before.

S. Martin

The tongue of fyre which *M. Downam* sayth came downe vpon *S. Martins* head as he was saying Masse, I find not; there appeared once indeed at that tyme a light about the Saynts head, which was only seene of some, but if it had bin properly fyre, it would haue singed his haire at least. That relation of S. *George*, wherein fyre is sayd to come downe from heauen to burne the Idolls with their Temple, and Priests, is rightly by *M. Downam* called a fable, being condēned by Pope *Gelasius*, as *Baronius* sheweth in his annotatiōs vpon the Martyrologe. *S. Barbara's* Father was stroken with thunder, and lightning from heauen, but this punishment fell vpon him immediatly from God, not at the intercession of the Saynt, who is falsely calumniated by *M. Downam* to haue cursed the shepheard himselfe, who betrayed her. *Metaphrastes* only sayth, that she cursed his sheepe, which she might do in much charity toward the shepheard himselfe, that he might be moued to repentance; for that he was consumed into a stone, seemeth *M. Downams* addition.

S. Georg.

S. Barbara

That of the Bishop, who appearing in the cloudes, did let some fire drop vpon one, to giue him a tast of the torments in Purgatory, was but a poore myracle, since that the worker thereof continued in such payne; wherfore I shall not need to insist any longer vpon these trifling instāces; only the Reader may note that *M. Downā* beleeueth none of these Histories, and consequently in very truth thinketh that this myracle was neuer done in the Catholike Church. Besides, the greater part of these Saintes liued long before the tyme, which *M. Downam* assigneth for Antichrists comming, some of them being in the third, and some in the fourth age after Christ. Finally all this which *M. Downam* reciteth is nothing in comparison of that which Antichrist shall do, as is manifest by the testimony which the Scripture giueth concerning the greatnes of his signes and wonders, of which notwithstanding *S. Iohn* putteth this as one of the greatest;

teſt; to omit that the Pope himſelfe is not made the author of any of theſe miracles.

12. I ſhould weary the Reader too much, if I ſhould ſtay any longer in the explication of M. *Downams* folly in this point, for now he addeth his other two myſticall expoſitions of this myracle, which are the beſtowing of the grace of Gods Spirit, and Sanctification, and the thunderbolt of Excommunication. But both theſe expoſitions conteyne no leſſe difficulty, but rather more then the former, and therefore are ſufficiently refuted with that which hath bin ſayd; and beſides if need were, both theſe actions as they are exerciſed by the Pope, might eaſily be eſtabliſhed out of Scripture, and all antiquity. But this place requireth no ſuch diſcourſe, wherefore omitting all that which M. *Downam* repeateth here in hatred of the Pope, and hath bin ſufficiently explicated in other places, let vs come to the ſecond myracle of Antichriſt.

13. Concerning which M. *Downam* would willingly ſay ſomthing litterally, affirming that among the Popes followers it hath bin an vſuall practiſe to put lyfe as it were into Images in the ſight and opinion of ſimple men, making them to ſweat, to ſmile, to frowne, to nod, to beck, and many tymes to ſpeake, which ſayth he, might happen without a myracle, for the Diuells ſomtymes did ſpeake in the Images of the heathens: which later part is no doubt true, if by a myracle M. *Downam* meaneth that which exceedeth the force and power of all creatures. Neyther do Catholikes attribute ſuch accidents, if any happen, to a myracle in this ſort, but only to a force which exceedeth that of man, and conſequently they gather by all circumſtances, and cheifly by the effects, whether they are to be referred to a good, or bad ſpirit; by which when M. *Downam* nameth ſome particulers, it will be no hard matter to iudge of his aſſertion, for that ſuch things may ſometymes proceed from good cauſes, there can be no doubt, except M. *Downam* will ſuppoſe that all Images are Idols, which all Catholikes deny, and therefore it is not inough for him to af-

Whether the Pope hath made Images to ſpeake &c.

affirme it, except it be among those of his owne mynd, the verity of the fact it selfe must be tryed by the sufficiency of the witnesses, and the authority of the relators; for we are not so fond as *M. Downam* feigneth, to believe every one vpon their bare relation. But by the way the Reader must obserue *M. Downams* foolish blasphemy, who by this exposition, maketh God himselfe, our Sauiour and all his Sayntes to be the former beast which S. Iohn speaketh of, since that the Pope reuerenceth no other Images but theirs. Thus much for the literall sense.

Now *M. Downam* returneth to his mysteries, which destroy the letter, and first he will proue, that we are to expound the Image of the beast with the lyfe, and speach thereof mystically, because we must needs vnderstand the beast it selfe mystically; by which rule he must likewise explicate al other things which are said of this beast in the same manner: as the force and power which the Diuell gaue him, must be mysticall, the earth which wondered at him, must be mysticall, his blasphemies also mistical, yea the God which he blasphemed, his name, his tabernacle, & those which dwell in heauen must all be mysticall, the warre also, the signes, the fyre, the wound of the sworde, the death of those which he killeth, the diuersity of them, their buying, and selling &c. must be mysticall; which how absurd it is, I suppose *M. Downam* himselfe seeth. Wherefore we must in this place, as well as in all other obserue *S. Augustines* rule, that if without any mystery, figure, metaphore, or allegory, the wordes of the Scripture may haue a proper, and as it were a naturall sense, we are to admit it: and because there can be no question, but that Antichrist shalbe a man, therefore when he is by S. *Iohn* called a beast, we vnderstand him of a beastly man, not mystically, as *M. Downam* speaketh, but litterally, because such men may very well by a metaphoricall speach be called beasts; but in the other particulars which I haue mentioned, there is not this difficulty, because though we take the wordes in their proper signification, they conteine no absurdity, nor impossibility

The Image of the beast Apocalyp. 13. is literaly, & properly to be vnderstood.

Lib. 3 de Doctr. Christ. c. 7.

lity at all, and therefore may and ought to be applied in their proper signifycation to Antichriſt.

And to exemplify in this of the Image, what doubt can there be, but that Antichriſt being a man, may haue an Image made of him, as well as other men? Why likewiſe may not the Diuell make his Image to ſweat, to ſmile, to frowne, to nod, to beck, and to ſpeake, as well as they did ſpeake in the Idols of Heathens? and in the Images of Saynts alſo in *M. Downams* conceipt. Wherefore it is manifeſt that we muſt vnderſtand all this properly, which *M. Downam* fondly calleth litterally, and not haue recourſe to any metaphoricall explication, which he tearmeth myſticall, and conſequently *M. Downam* muſt ſhew vs an Image of Antichriſt himſelfe, which the Diuell by ſome falſe Prophet hath made ſpeake, and ſeeme to liue; in which reſpect all men ſhould be vrged vnder payne of death to adore it. But this he knoweth well inough that he cannot in no wyſe doe, and therefore he runneth to his myſticall ſenſe, which now alſo I will briefly examine in particuler. And firſt he ſuppoſeth as certayne without any proofe at all, that the beaſt ſignifyeth the Roman ſtate, eſpecially vnder the heathniſh Emperours; but this I haue oftener then once confuted, ſhewing that it ſignifyeth Antichriſt himſelfe, by the com. mon conſent of the moſt, and beſt authors, yea the Proteſtants themſelues, haue commonly vnderſtood it ſo. Wherefore this ground being falſe, all his expoſition muſt needs fall; But yet let vs take it, as it is. He ſayth therfore, that the Image is the Empyre renewed in the Weſt; the lyfe thereof, is the imperiall Dignity, and the ſpeach, are his Edicts; which as you ſee is a very myſticall, or rather miſerable expoſition.

The Image of the beaſt Apoca. 13. cannot ſignify the Empire in the weſt, ſince the tyme of Charles the great.

And firſt it is no ſmall iniury to the Emperour which now is, and to all who haue bin ſince *Charles* the great, to deny them to be true Emperours, and to affirme them to haue bin, and to be no more but Images of the Emperours; eſpecially ſince it is well knowne, that ſome of theſe Emperours haue bin as potent and mighty Princes, as euer any were in the Weſt, ſince the firſt diuiſion of

the Empyre by *Constantine* the great. Neither did it much import, though the Emperour that now is, had none of the Prouinces which in tymes past belonged to the Roman Empyre, since that the dignity consisteth not in riches, and possessions, but in authority, and iurisdiction. But it is also false, that none of the Emperours since *Charles* the great had the gouernment of those Prouinces, as it is euident by all Histories. Besides, the Pope gaue *Charles* the great both the Imperiall dignity, and authority to make Edicts, when he created him Emperour. But *S. Iohn* letteth downe the making of the giuing it lyfe, and causing it to speake as distinct things; yea as done partly by the false Prophet himselfe, and partly by others at his perswasion.

Finally *M. Downam* in others places interpreteth the third myracle of Antichrist which *Bellarmine* noteth, and is recorded in this Chapter also, to be, *The renewing of the Empyre*; which notwithstanding was wrought before the false Propher began to perswade any to make the Image; for it is sayd in this very place, that he sayd to the Inhabitants of the earth, that they make the Image of the beast, *quæ habet plagam gladij, & vixit*, which hath the wound of the sword, and lyued: wherefore this other myracle in M. *Downams* mysticall sense was not now necessary; yea his whole conceipt of the Image of the Empyre is ouerthrowne, since that the beast which was wounded liued still himselfe. Finally this wound was healed before the second beast appeared at all, and consequently, if by it were signifyed the decay, and renewing of the *Roman* Empire, this was also done without the second beasts help, and consequently *M. Downam* must go seek a new mystical sense for the Image of the beast, which was made by the perswasion, and receiued spirit and speach by the operation of this second beast, which *M. Downam* supposeth to be Antichrist himselfe, but indeed is only his false Propher, as S. *Irenæus*, and other Fathers declare, as we haue seene in other places.

See part. 1. c. 15.

M. Downam contradicteth himselfe.

14. Hitherto we haue seene that *M. Downams* mysticall expositiõ of the secõd myracle which *S. Iohn* assigneth

to

to Antichriſt contemneth many abſurdities, and impoſſibilities, and beſids, that it is to be vnderſtood litterally, with the common conſent of auncient authors, and according to the rules neceſſarily to be obſerued in the explication of Scripture, wherefore now it were to no purpoſe to detayne the Reader any longer, by examining the application, which *M. Downam* maketh of his myſticall interpretation to the Pope, eſpecially ſince he agreeth very well with *Bellarmine*, & the Catholiks in this point; that the Empire of the Weſt was trāſlated frō the Grecias to the *French* firſt, and after from them to the *Germans*, by the authority of the Pope, and that he likewiſe appoynted the 7. Electors of the Empire. Wherefore it wilbe ſufficient to note how well Proteſtants agree in this matter, as well as in the reſt of their doctrine, ſince it was neceſſary for *Bellarmine* to write three whole bookes againſt *Illyricus*, to proue that which *M. Downam* moſt willingly admitteth, and taketh for one of his principall grounds to proue the Pope Antichriſt, & therefore remitteth himſelfe to *Bellarmines* prooſes, whom he acknowledgeth to haue conuinced this truth againſt lying *Illyricus*; and yet to ſhew his great learning, he will needes take vpon him to ſet downe the authorityes, or allegations of the Popes, which he would make vs belieue were omitted by the Cardinall, but yet they are expreſſely brought by him in his firſt booke of this queſtion *Cap.* 6. togeather with diuers others, and two of the three are recited more at large then *M. Downam* hath them.

The Pope tranſlated the Empire & appoynted the 7. Electors.

That of *Pope Adrian* 4. is alledged out of another place of the ſame author *Auētine*, but that place indeed which *M. Downam* bringeth is altogeather omitted by the Cardinall, who tooke him not to be of ſuch credit, as that one allegation out of him might not ſuffice; for which, what reaſon he had, may be ſeene by that which I haue heretofore obſerued: and beſids this latter place which M. *Downam* bringeth ſeemeth to be corrupted, but I will not ſtand to examine the matter, ſince the author is of ſo litle credit. The laſt words which *M. Downam* bringeth out of our Law (as he ſayth) without quoting the place, is ſomething

thing suspicious, for in it he maketh the law prescribe the Emperour such an oath, as the vassall vseth to performe vnto his Lord, which in rigour seemeth not true, and therefore I wish the Reader to suspend his iudgment, vntill he see the place examined, which God willing shall not be long, after that *M. Downam* hath told vs where we may find it, and this we may expect shortly, if there be any such place at all.

15. Now then let vs conclude this whole Chapter, wishing the Reader to consider and ponder well, how forcibly *M. Downam* hath returned this argument drawne from the second myracle of Antichrist, vpon *Cardinall Bellarmine*, since that neyther his mysticall exposition can be admitted in it selfe, and besides it maketh the Emperours of the West since *Charles* the great, who haue cheifly maynteined Christianity against the Turke, and other Infidels, to be Antichrists principall vpholders; and finally contrary to the Scripture imagineth that Antichrist should renew, and establish the *Roman* Empyre, which as *S. Paul* affirmeth, is the greatest impediment and stay of his reuealing, and that for so many hundreth yeares it should concur with Antichrist, which must vtterly be destroyed before his comming, by the ten Kings which he is to ouercome, seauen of which shall submit and vnite themselues vnto him; al which the Reader hath seene manifestly prooued partly in this second, and partly in the first part of this Treatise.

M. Downams absurd expositiō of the Scripture.

THE

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

WHEREIN

is confuted all that, which M. Downam *obiecteth against the Pope, concerning the name and marke of Antichriſt.*

IN the beginning of this diſcourſe of the name & Character of Antichriſt, *M. Downam* committeth two foule faults, for firſt he confoundeth the one with the other, whereas they be altogeather diſtinct, as Cardinall Bellarmine prooueth. Secondly he groundeth his whole argument vpon a falſe ſuppoſition, that Antichriſt ſhal enforce all ſorts of men to take vpon them the name of the beaſt, whereas the matter is indeed quit otherwiſe, for the ſecond beaſt which ſignifyeth the Armiger, or falſe Prophet of Antichriſt, ſhall inforce the marke, or name of the former beaſt, that is of Antichriſt himſelfe vpon all men. This hath heretofore bin manyfeſtly conuinced vpon diuers occaſions, and now M. *Downam* bringeth nothing to the contrary, but only Cardinall *Bellarmines* authority; who in that very place which he alledgeth, doth expreſſely teach, that the Name,

Downam miſtaketh both his matter & authors

or Character belongeth to the former beast, and to Antichrist, and consequently fauoureth not at all, but is altogeather opposit to M. *Downams* conceipt, as I haue twice already shewed vpon diuers occasions. In the expositiō of the number of this name M. *Downam* agreeth very well with Bellarmine, reiecting the exposition of his friends Bullinger and the Magdeburgenses, who vnderstood it of the tyme when Antichrst should appeare, and dye, wherefore I shall not need to say any thing concerning this.

See part. 1. c. 15. 3. & part. 3. cap. 3. 8.

2. But presently after M. *Downam* returneth to his former false suppositiō, that this name belongeth not to Antichrist, whom he will haue to be signified by the later, and not by the former beast, which notwithstanding he proueth not by any other argument, then that some Catholikes somtymes confesse that the former beast signifyeth the Latin, or Roman state; but he should haue named these Catholiks. Cardinall *Bellarmine* indeed admitteth as probable that the former beast signifyeth either the *Roman* state, or the multitude of the wicked, because he thinketh also probable, that Antichrist is signifyed by the seaueth head of the beast: he alledgeth also one Author, who thinketh that Antichrist may be signifyed not only by the first beast, or his seauenth head, but also by the later beast. But I could neuer yet find any Catholike author, no nor Protestant neyther before M. *Downam* who absolutly denied that Antichrist was signified eyther by the first beast, or one of his heades. And I haue often shewed vpon diuers occasiōns, that of all these opinions, it is far more probable, that the first beast himselfe signifyeth Antichrist, and of this opinion is Saynt *Irenæus* most manifestly, whom M. *Downam* is not ashamed to bring for his new conceipt, though he impugneth him so playnly, as that he affirmeth, that there is no shew of reason that τέλος should be this name, seeing it is not the name of the beast; which notwithstāding S. *Irenæus* affirmeth to be the name, which of all others deserueth most credit, preferring it before the other λατινος, by which it is euident, that he vnderstood not the former beast to signify

Downam mistaketh his authors.

signify any state at all, and much lesse the *Roman* state, as *M. Downam* would make the Reader beleiue; but of this we haue spoken also in another place. *See 1. part c. 10.*

3. By this it appeareth that though the number of 666. agreed neuer so well to the names *Latinus* or *Romanus*, yet they could not certainly be affirmed to be the name of Antichrist, since that as the Cardinall sheweth the same number is as expressely found in many other names yea indeed it is not contained in either of these, as hath bin many times conuinced in the first part, neither doth *M. Downam* bring any new proofe here, only he addeth another orthography out of *Fox* of the name *Romanus*; but this serueth for nothing els, but to ouerthrow the former, since they are so different, for of sixe letters there are but three the same in both, the other being left out, and put in *ad libitum* without any reason at all, but that in some sort they might make vp the number of 666. The number 666. is not cõteyned in the names Romane, or Latine.

The other reasons which *M. Downam* bringeth in confirmation of this conceipt, are either false or triuolous. For he supposeth here agayne, that the former beast, whose name this is, signifyeth the Roman state, and that the second beast, who enforceth men to take this name vpon them, is Antichrist, yea the Pope; all which is very false, and neyther hath, nor can be proued by *M. Downam*, or any other.

Finally he confirmeth the same very ridiculously, because these two names, *Latinus*, and *Romanus* are the names of particuler men; vnderstanding (as it seemeth) *S. Iohn* in this sense, when he affirmeth, that this number of 666. is the number of a man; but the meaning of those words is farre otherwise, by the connexion which they haue with that which goeth immediatly before: let him that hath vnderstanding count the number of the beast; *numerus enim hominis est*, for number is of a man, or belongeth to a man, that is, it belongeth to a man to count, or number; which is a very good reason of that which goeth before, and this sense seemeth also to be gathered out of the Greeke, in which, the word (*number*) is without an article, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, whereas immediatly after,

after, when he speaketh of this particuler number, it is with an article, as also a litle before in the same sense and if it be taken for the name of a particuler man, certainly all reason perswadeth, that this particuler man should be no other then Antichrist himselfe: and yet M. *Downam* wilbe loath to graunt him to be one particuler man alone.

4. After this M. *Downam* cõmeth to explicate the marke, of which wee treated largely in the first part, and therefore now it wilbe sufficient to note, that we deny not but that sometymes the Scripture speaketh of spirituall and metaphoricall signes and markes: but the question is, whether in this place, this Marke is so to be vnderstood or noe; and this we proue manifestly to be otherwise, as well by the parts, which are particulerly expressed where this marke is to be borne; as also because neither any inward marke, nor yet profession and operation can be sufficient for that which is here exacted, since that none shalbe permitted to buy or sell, who hath not this marke: and it is incredible, and in a manner impossible, that euery one should be enforced to make the profession of his fayth either by word or worke, as often as he hath occasion to exercise these acts.

See 1. part. c. 11.

The Marke of Antichrist is to be taken properly.

Neyther doth M. *Downam* otherwise proue that this place is spiritually or metaphorically to be vnderstood, then by the authority of the ordinary Glosse, or rather of *Lyra*, who applying this whole vision to *Mahomet*, was enforced to fal into that absurdity, because he did not find any marke, which those of that sect are enforced to carry vpon their forehead, and in their right hand properly, and therefore he expoundeth it of their determinate manner of lyfe, and applieth the right hand to operation, and the forehead to open confession. But euery man seeth that this exposition of his is confuted by many other circumstances, as well as by this, and how willingly *Lyra* would haue found a proper marke, appeareth by his naming of Circumcision, but that he saw that this was not receiued, either in the right hand or forehead; by which he might haue inferred that *Mahomet* was not spoken of in this

this place: but he following that falſe opinion was driuen, as well as *M. Downam* to runne to metaphoricall marks. And this may ſuffiſe for anſwere to all that which *M. Downam* bringeth in this place; for his places of Scripture only proue, that predeſtination, fayth, and profeſſion may be called ſignes, which we deny not, but only affirme, that in this place, a more particuler marke is required, by which all thoſe who follow Antichriſt may be manifeſtly, and openly diſcerned by all, and yet if we would contend, it would be no hard matter to ſhew, that Chriſtians haue their viſible marke in their forheads alſo, viz. the *ſigne of the Croſſe*, of which *S. Iohn* in the Apocalyps may very well be vnderſtood. *Apocal. 9.*

5. Now then it were altogeather needleſſe to ſhew, that the application of this Character which *M. Downam* maketh to the Catholike Church, is altogeather impertinent, for beſides that he wholly miſtaketh both the name and the marke, as hath bin ſhewed, theſe ſignes alſo which he aſſigneth were vſed in the Church long before the tyme that Antichriſt came, by his owne account, as hath bin largely proued in the firſt part, where alſo that obiection concerning Chriſme, was fully anſwered: and as for the ſpirituall, and inuiſible Characters, which we affirme to be imprinted in the ſoule, in ſuch Sacraments as may not be reiterated, they pertayne nothing at all to the preſent purpoſe, where we only ſpeake of viſible; and beſides that kind of inuiſible Character is comon to Baptiſme, as well as to Confirmation and Orders, and therefore cannot be wholly reiected by Proteſtants; as neither theſe two later Sacraments ought to be, if they had any true religion, or prieſthood at all. Downam ſpeaketh from the purpoſe.

6. Notwithſtanding *M. Downam* goeth forward, and is very copious in prouing that, which no man denieth, viz. that it is neceſſary to ſaluation, to obey, and be ſubiect to the Pope, and Roman Church, as to Chriſts vicar & ſpouſe: wherfore heere is no anſwere to be made, but that we both admit this aſſertion and the prooſes thereof, though if it had pleaſed him, he might out of Cardinall *Bellarmine*, and other authors who treat largely

of this matter, haue taken more firme, and euident argu-
ments for this authority. Now then, let vs goe forward,
Downam contradicteth himselfe. only noting by the way, how M. *Downam* confoundeth matters, for a litle before he was very earnest to proue, that both the name and the marke belonged to the Roman Empyre, which he imagined to be signifyed by the former beast, and now he hath brought them both to the Pope and Church; for this subiection which now he talketh of, is to them, and not to the Emperour or Empyre, and consequently according to this conceipt, the name and marke should belong to the second beast, who should seeke to extoll himselfe, and not the former beast, contrary to the expresse text of Scripture.

7. There is litle in that which followeth but ravling, and therefore it deserueth litle, or no answere; yet I am loth to let any thing passe vnexamined, which may seeme to haue any difficulty. First then it is very true, that all Christians are bound to belieue that which the Pope teacheth *ex Cathedra*, as for example most of those doctrines which M. *Downam* recounteth, and supposeth after his manner, to be erroneous; but we are nothing moued with such arguments; we likewise willingly grant that both Kings and Emperours are bound to defend the Catholike Church, and consequently the Pope who is the cheife visible Pastour of the same, and therfore when they take an oath to this effect, they sweare only to performe their duty, which also either of custome, or other obligation may iustly be exacted of them. And this may be with much more reason required of Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall and inferiour persons.

What oath the Pope may require of Princes, Bishops &c.

It is also very true, that one great part of the Popes office is to represse heretiks, which are the Christians, which M. *Downam* complaineth to be so pittifully persecuted: and yet he is much mistaken in comparing the seuerity which is vsed against them, to the cruelty which Antichrists false Prophets shall exercise, according to S. *Iohns* prophecy. For first *Martinus* 5. in the *Bull* which M. *Downam* alledgeth, speaketh only of those heretiks which were publikely and manifestly knowne to be such

by

by the euidence of the fact, that is, by ſome euident ſigne, marke, act, or exerciſe of their hereſy; wherefore they are firſt knowne, before they be forbidden to dwell, trafique, and conuerſe among Catholikes. Whereas in Antichriſts tyme Catholike Chriſtians ſhalbe ſo ſtreightly looked after, that they ſhall not be permitted ſo much as to buy daily neceſſaries, except they haue the marke of the beaſt either in their right hand, or in their forhead, and conſequently they muſt needs come to be diſcouered by this meanes, though before they were neuer ſo ſecret and vnknowne. Beſids, this order of the Pope is nothing ſo ſtrict, nor ſo generall, as that of Antichriſts Prophet ſhalbe, and finally it laſted not long, as the Pope inſinuated in the ſame place, by adding, that this order was to continew only vntill other was giuen; which was not long after by the ſame Pope in the ſame Councell, declaring that Catholikes ſhould not be bound to eſchew or auoid, no not ſo much as in Eccleſiaſticall affaires any other excommunicate perſon, beſids thoſe who were ſpecially, and expreſſely publiſhed, and denounced for ſuch, or els had ſo notoriouſly vſed violence to Clergy men, that their fact could neither be concealed, nor excuſed.

Antichriſt ſhal perſecute Catholiks much more ſeuerely thē the Pope doth Heretikes.

And this his limitation, reſtriction, and declaration hath bin in force euer ſince, and is ſtill at this day, which is the cauſe that Catholiks may ſo friēdly & freely cōuerſe with Engliſh Proteſtants in our Country, and all other ſectaries in other Nations: ſo that euen in *Spayne* and *Italy* where greateſt diligence is vſed for the auoiding of this infectiō, Proteſtants are permitted to paſſe peaceably ſo long as they bewray not themſelus by ſeducing others, or giuing ſome externall demonſtration of their hereſy, which is far different from obliging all men to make a publike profeſſiō of cōformity in religion, which in Antichriſts tyme ſhalbe exacted by the impoſitiō of the foreſayd marke of the beaſt, and in England is vrged vpon Catholikes by the ſtatutes concerning the frequenting of Proteſtants Churches, taking of oathes againſt their faith and conſcience &c.

The

The rest which M. *Downam* addeth concerning the deposition of Princes is very true, if we speake only of the authority in it selfe, which no doubt the Pope hath, and may exercise in some cases, and for some causes; which whether they did concurre or no in those particuler sentences which M. *Downam* specifyeth, belongeth not to me to examine, neither is it any way needfull for our present purpose. Whether likewise the proceeding of the *Spanish Inquisition* be too rigorous, or not, dependeth of many circumstances; perhaps for that nation something be conuenient, which for others would be pernicious, at least we see that in *Italy* & *Rome* it selfe there is more mitigation, and for these Northern parts Catholike Princes cannot be much blamed, for their forwardnesse & seuerity in this case. It is not now to be expected that I should enter into that disputation, who are properly to be accounted heretiks and schismatikes; only it shalbe sufficient to note M. *Downams* false dealing, who telleth his Reader, that he is an heretik that doth not believe as the Pope and Church of *Rome* believeth, though he believe according to the Scriptures; wheras you see he would perswade his Reader that the Pope & Church of Rome are opposit to the Scriptures; which notwithstanding he could not chuse but know to be most false, if by the Scriptures he vnderstandeth the written word of God, as it is in it selfe, free from the corruptions, and false interpretations of Protestants and other heretiks.

Deposition of Princes

The spanish Inquisition.

Downam his false dealing.

8. Thus much concerninng the name and marke of Antichrist. Now M. *Downam* returneth to his mysticall interpretation of the myracles, which are attributed to Antichrist and his false prophet in the same 13. Chapter of the Apocalyps; and first he will haue the power which the second beast exercised, to be the authority of the Pope which is more soueraigne and absolute, then that of the Emperour; and if he speaketh of his spirituall power, this is no doubt most true, but if he vnderstandeth it of temporall authority, it is most false: for in the opinion of most Catholike deuines, the Pope hath this only *indirectè*, and can only exercise it so farre as the good of souls shall

What power the Pope hath.

shall require, in which later the Canonists also agree with the Deuines, *That the exercise of temporall iurisdiction belongeth to temporall Princes, and is not to be assumed by the Pope, but in some vrgent necessity, for the Churches spirituall benefit*; wherfore euen in *M. Downams* mysticall explication, the Pope cannot be sayd to exercise all the power of the Empyre. But how friuolous, & absurd this cõceipt is, appeareth sufficiently by that which hath bin sayd: for neither doth the first beast signify the *Roman* Empire, nor the second beast Antichrist, and *S. Iohn* euidently speaketh of the power to worke wonders, and apparent myracles, and not of either spirituall or temporall Iurisdiction.

That fact of Pope *Bonifacius* 8. (if there were any such) is to be interpreted according to that which hath bin sayd, of the two powers which he had, according to the Deuines, or Canonists opinion, and so is that of *Blondus* also, vnles part of it be rather referred to the particuler Citty, and Prouince of *Rome*, in which no doubt the Pope hath the same temporall power, which other Princes haue in their seuerall Kingdomes and dominions. Bonifacius 8.

9. Secondly *M. Downam* goeth about to apply that to the Pope which is sayd of the second beast, that he causeth men to worship the former beast, and to this effect, he alledgeth out of an old English booke, great Indulgences, which the Pope hath granted to such as visit the seuen Principall Churchs of *Rome*; where truly I cãnot sufficiently admire his folly. For what great worship is this, that a company of poore Pilgrims, and deuout people, are hereby induced to visit that Citty? So that if we respect the temporall commodity, eyther of the Citty it selfe, or of the Pope, or finally of the *Roman* Empyre, which, according to *M. Downam*, is signifyed by that former beast, the trouble and inconuenience is far greater, then any profit, or benefit, that can be expected at their handes.

And besides, the Pope hath granted the same Indulgences and priuiledges to diuers other holy places, at *Hierusalem*, *Compostella*, and the like: so that here is not so

much as the least shew of any argument or difficulty: only the manner of the Indulgences, which M. *Downam* reciteth may seeme somwhat strange, there being sometymes many thousand of yeares granted, which seeme to be many more, then the sinnes of any deserue: and indeed in this respect, as well as in diuers others, that old English booke seemeth to be of no authority, especially in the opinion of some Catholike learned men, who absolutly deny, that the Pope euer granted any Indulgences in that forme. But yet others doe easely explicate how they may be taken in good sense; by accounting seauen, and sometymes more yeares of pennance to be due to euery mortall sinne, according to the old penitentiall Canons; since that there want not many, who in a very short space stick not to cõmit innumerable mortall sinnes, either by periuryes, blasphemyes, or the like; and besides most commonly these Indulgences may be also applyed to others, who are either yet lyuing, or deceased and in Purgatory, and consequently they are not frustrate, or in vayne, though they were alway gayned by all that visit those places; of which notwithstanding there is no certainty, but rather many tymes iust cause of doubt, by reason of some negligence or indisposition.

How Indulgences may be granted of many yeares.

See Bell. & Suar. de Indul.

10. Wherfore I shall not need to stay the Reader any longer in this discourse, nor shew many absurdities, which are conteyned in the particuler relation of Indulgences in that old English booke, for it is not worth the refuting, being of small or no authority; and some things are so grosse, that no man is so simple, but he will easily perceiue them to be false, as that of *S. Siluester* granting as many yeares of Pardon, as it rayned droppes of water, the day that he hallowed the Church of *S. Iohn Lateran*; and that whosoeuer is buryed in the Church of *S. Gregory* shall neuer be damned. Cardinall *Baronius* relateth such a fable, and confuteth it at large; in which notwithstanding it is sayd, that *S. Gregory* expressely required, that he who were buried in that Church, must haue dyed in the true Christian fayth; which supposed, the Protestants will assure him of his Saluation whersoeuer he be buryed.

S. Siluester.

Baronius anno 604. §. 50 & sequent.

S. Gregory the great.

ryed. But inough of this: let *M. Downam* examine, or produce the vndoubted, and authenticall formes of Indulgences, which haue bin vſed by Popes, and then, if he haue any difficulty he may propoſe it; but for ſuch vncertayne and apochriphall narrations, I haue already ſayd much more then was neceſſary.

11. Laſtly *M. Downam* affirmeth that the Pope forceth men vpon payne of death to worſhip the Image of the beaſt, and this he proueth, firſt vnderſtanding it litterally, becauſe Catholikes ſuffer none to lyue, that will not participate with them in worſhipping of the Images; where you ſee, that either he runneth quite from the matter, or els maketh God and his Saynctes to be the former beaſt, euen in the litterall ſenſe: for the Pope and Catholikes worſhip the Images of no other, as all the world knoweth; beſids he ſhould ſhew, that any is forced to worſhip ſuch Images, as haue had lyfe and motion put into them, of which we haue ſpoken before ſufficiently. Now as for his myſticall ſenſe it hath bin often confuted: for in it, he vnderſtandeth by the Image of the beaſt, the Empyre renewed; but becauſe he knew not, how to ſhew that the Pope cauſeth this to be worſhipped, he addeth now alſo the Popes Court at Rome, and his Legates and officers abroad, whom he was ſure that the Pope did ſeeke to mainteine. Where the Reader may conſider what *Chymera's* and fictions Proteſtants build their religion vpon; and how they are inforced to patch vp their feyned deuiſes, according as new difficultyes do ariſe.

The Emperours are in this place, beholding to *M. Downam*, for he is content to admit their decrees in all things which belong not to religion: ſo that he acknowledgeth them only to be the Image of the beaſt, in reſpect of their being Catholike Chriſtians; though in this cheifly they diſagree from the old perſecuting Emperours, ſince they maynteine the ſame religion which the other did perſecute. But *M. Downam* after his manner ſuppoſeth that all the Chriſtian Emperours for almoſt theſe thouſand yeares, haue bin as far from true religion, as Pagans, and Idolatours. Well let vs conclude this Chap- Downãs petitio principij.

ter, since that there remayneth nothing to be answered, only noting by the way, that M. *Downam* seemeth altogeather to confound the beast and his Image; since that mystically he applieth both to *Rome* & the Emperours, as it is now, because he could not deuise, how he should charge the Pope with vpholding the old Empyre, either in the tyme of the persecuting Emperors, or in those who succeded them vnto *Augustulus*, or before *Charles* the great. Finally I shall not need to put the Reader in mind, that whatsoeuer M. *Downam* imagineth to the contrary, it is most certayne, as hath bin proued, that Antichrist shall be an open enemy to the Roman state, & Name, yea that Rome it selfe shalbe destroyed, and the Empyre wholy taken away before his comming; and that it is euident, that whosoeuer concurreth, as the Pope doth, and alway hath done, to the preseruation of the Roman Empyre, laboureth so much as may be, to hinder the comming of Antichrist, and is most opposite vnto him.

He cõtradicteth himselfe.

THE

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

WHEREIN

M. Downams *laſt Chapter is confuted.*

IN this laſt Chapter *M. Downam* is very brief, and he might very well haue omitted it altogeather, ſince that it conteineth nothing, not ſayd before, and conſequently not already confuted. But yet I am content for the Readers better ſatisfaction to repeat, as he doth, and to examine this Chapter alſo particulerly, as I haue done all the reſt. Wherefore I heretofore ſhewed, that the 10. hornes mentioned Apocalyp. 17. doe ſignify ten Kings, which ſhall deuide the whole Roman Empyre among them, and liue all at one tyme and deſtroy *Rome* it ſelfe; all which ſhalbe accomplished before Antichriſts comming. By which it appeareth that *M. Downams* deuiſe of the rulers of the ten Prouinces ſubiect to the Empyre in the Weſt, after *Auguſtulus* *Apocal. 17.*

stulus, togeather with the Pope, is a mere fiction, which might also easily be confuted by the Histories of those tymes; but that I haue done it already, and now I meane not to repeat any thing more then is needfull for the clearing of the misty darknesse which *M. Downam* ouercasteth in this place. Wherefore, Secondly it is also false, that these ten hornes should giue their power to the beast only for a tyme, as is manyfest out of the Scripture it selfe; neyther doth this beast signify Antichrist, but the Diuell himselfe.

These Kings also shalbe enemies vnto Christ so long as they continue, and in the end shalbe ouercome by him, togeather with Antichrist himselfe. Neyther is there any the least insinuation of these Kings conuersion, as *M. Downam* fondly imagineth, and falsely affirmeth. So that euen when they destroy *Rome* signifyed by *Babylon*, they shall still continue to giue their power to the Diuell, as is expressely noted in the 17. verse of this 17. Chapter. Wherfore that which *M. Downã* bringeth out of the 14. Chapter of Apocal. maketh nothing to this purpose. Neyther is there any mention of these ten Kinges, only some cheife, and notable accidents are described, which shall goe before the end of the world, for the consolation of the good, as that there shalbe many euident Virgin Saynts, that all the world shall haue heard the Ghospell, and that the tyme of Christs second comming to iudgement approacheth, that the Empyre, and Citty of *Rome* shalbe destroyed, that there shall not want Preachers, euen in the tyme of Antichrists greatest persecution, which is cheifly vnderstood of *Henoch* and *Helias* &c. But here is no insinuation that the decay of the Antichristian state doth follow vpon the preaching of the Ghospell; for first by *Babylon* is not vnderstood the Antichristian state, but the Empyre, and Citty of Rome, while it was in Idolatry, and drew the whole world to the same, for which cause they shall finally be destroyed, but yet not before the Ghospell hath bin preached in all nations; for which cause the first Angell in this place

Apocal. 14.

Henoch & Helias.

Antichrist shall not come before the Ghospell hath bin preached in the whole world, & Rome be destroied.

fore

foretelleth the preaching of the Ghospell; and the second, the destruction of *Rome*; and the third, the comming of Antichrist, and what shalbe done in his tyme, because he is not to come vntill both the other haue bin fulfilled.

2. And by this it appeareth, that the application which *M. Downam* maketh must needes be absurd; for first he proueth, that Antichrist is come, because these ten Kings are come; but now I haue shewed that they are not yet come, and that when they come, they shall vtterly destroy the Empyre. So that there shalbe no Romane Emperour at all, neyther shall Antichrist otherwise deuide the Empyre with them, then by making warre vpon them, in which he shall slay three, and subdue the other seauen, making them his tributaryes; wherefore all that honour, and obedience which is giuen by other Princes in the meane tyme to the Pope, belongeth to the fullfilling of those prophecies, which foretold the greatnes, and increase of Christianity. And those Princes who haue bin seduced, and withdrawen from this obedience, by *Luther* and the rest, vnder the pretence of the Ghospell, haue not, as *M. Downam* imagineth, forsaken Antichrist, but Christ and his Church, and are in danger if they hold on their course begunne, to enter into the number of the ten Kings which *S. Iohn* speaketh of, and consequently not only to help to destroy *Rome*, but lykewise to fight against the Lambe; by whom notwithstanding finally togeather with Antichrist they shalbe ouercome.

The Protestats apply those things to Antichrist which belōg to the prophesyes concerning Christ, & his Church.

By all which it manyfestly appeareth, that Protestant Ministers vnder the pretext of the Ghospell doe indeed prepare the way for Antichrists comming, by seeking to withdraw Princes and others from the obedience of the Pope and Catholike Church, and exclaming against the Roman Emperours, as the vpholders of Antichrist; who notwithstanding indeed are one of the cheifest hinderances of his comming. So that *M. Downam* and his fellowes do not only reiect the Fathers, but also openly cōtradict and peruert the Scripture throughout

out this whole disputation of Antichrist; as I doubt not but the diligent Reader hath obserued, admiring many tymes at their egregious impudency, who are not ashamed to make such great outcries and exclamations against the greatest authority vpon earth, vpon so slender and small, or rather no grounds at all, and against so many most euident Arguments, and manifest proofes to the contrary.

FINIS.

Omnia Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ subiecta sunto.

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38.	35.	tymes shall	tymes it shall
51.	23.	remayned	it remayned
79.	6.	*Catalogus*	as *Catalogus*
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82.	2.	*Hayadelus*	*Hayabatus*
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FINIS.